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VOL. XIII NO. 2

JANUARY 1908

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

41 NORTH QUEEN ST., LANCASTER, PA.

64-66 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Entered at the post-office, Lancaster, Pa., as second-class mail matter.

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Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW may be sent to the Managing Editor, Professor J. F. Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., or to the Board of Editors. Books for review may be sent to the Managing Editor. Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 41 North Queen St., Lancaster, Pa., or 66 Fifth Ave., New York. The price of subscription, to persons who are not members of the American Historical Association, is four dollars a year; single numbers are sold for one dollar; bound volumes may be obtained for four dollars and a half. Back numbers or volumes of the REVIEW may be obtained at the same rates.

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THE NEW ERA PRINT,
LANCASTER, PA.

The

American Historical Review

THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,¹ I.

THE problem of the origin of the English Constitution is the problem of ascertaining how, and, if possible, where the constitutional development of that country branched off the line of growth common to medieval monarchies. At some point of time England entered a road new in history, trodden by no other people and leading to a result never arrived at elsewhere—full and free national self-government, under the forms of a monarchy and the theory of an unlimited kingship. From a constitutional beginning practically identical, France came out of the Middle Ages with an absolute, and England with a limited monarchy. To find the how and when of this divergence is to fix the origin of the English constitution.

It is impossible to place the date earlier than 1215. England to the end of John's reign was a feudal state. In the general constitution and in the individual institutions by which the constitution was operated, there had been as yet no essential departure from that type as seen in all the feudal countries. One great difference of course existed—the powerful monarchy, the close centralization of the Anglo-Norman state—but while this difference strongly affected the results of government, it had affected methods and machinery scarcely at all. In two directions we may say that it had. Looking from above it had produced a more logical and ideal development of the feudal system, as in the financial rights of the sovereign, relief, wardship and marriage, in the reality of

¹ I publish here a preliminary outline which I hope to expand in time into a detailed account of the origin of the English constitution. I use the word "constitution" in this title not in the sense of the whole body of institutions which make up the machinery of the state, but in the sense which it bears in some uses of the modern phrase "constitutional government", the limited monarchy, the distinguishing feature which made the English a constitution of a new type.

feudal service from the great baron, and of the service desired from the church in the feudal organization; in the other direction, there had resulted a less complete partition of political powers than was natural to feudalism, a difference which is seen most easily, but not alone, in the imperfect development of private jurisdictions in England. These characteristics all mean a stronger kingship.

Nor had the strong monarchy as yet begun the task of transforming the feudal into a modern organization, at least not in such a way as to produce immediate results. In two important matters innovations had been made, but of so slight a character by that date as scarcely to seem innovations—in the judicial system and in taxation. But again, if completely carried out as begun, both these changes would have had for their result to strengthen the sovereign still further. As a matter of fact this tendency to increased power John used to as full advantage as was possible for that time. I believe that the tremendous power which he exercised over a reluctant baronage and a hostile but cowering church, even until after the battle of Bouvines, though it had begun to weaken before that date, has never been emphasized enough. If one considers the situation carefully, especially after the ineffective interdict and excommunication, it seems impossible to state too strongly the utter powerlessness of every element in the state as against the king. I doubt if there is to be found a like instance of arbitrary power in medieval history in the case of a sovereign so nearly dependent on himself alone. To be sure John had been forced to yield in 1213, but he had yielded so suddenly and with such consummate skill in adapting what he did to the one real necessity of the case and no more, that his hold upon the kingdom was for the time being only slightly loosened.² But whatever one may think of John's position, the situation on the eve of 1215 promised a very different outcome of English history from that which actually occurred. It is impossible to find in it any reasons for suspecting that England had departed, or was about to depart, in any essential matter, from the usual development of a feudal constitution, least of all in the direction of a limited monarchy.

If now we turn to the time following 1215 we are confronted with a similar condition of things. It is a hundred and fifty years

² My argument in volume II. of Hunt and Poole's *The Political History of England*, p. 424, for the view that John's act of homage was of his own policy, and not demanded by the pope, has been questioned. This view still seems to me decidedly the more probable. It is less important, however, to determine what one shall believe about a question which must always be a matter of opinion, than to see how indispensable the act was to John's security, and that nothing less would have averted the French invasion.

after that date before we can find any institution forming a permanent part of the constitution, not merely a temporary experiment, of which we can say that it had for its object to secure the operation of a limited monarchy. It is generations of time in other words before we can detect any essential departure from the type of the continental state which we may be certain is in the direction of a limited monarchy.³ All the constitutions which grew out of the feudal, including the English, were alike in their general features so far as the machinery of government was concerned. In all alike the *curia regis*, the great mother of institutions, gave birth to practically the same progeny, growing up to closely similar results. Peculiarities there were in each state, differences of detail, of form rather than of method or character; but England differs no more widely from what may be called the normal type than do other states, probably less than does Germany. Some of the English differences may be thought to be very essential elements of constitutional government, some details of the judicial system, some features of local government, the composition and organization of Parliament, and they certainly were of great assistance in the making of the constitution, but it did not come from them. All such peculiarities of the English constitution taken together would never have produced a limited monarchy. It is indeed true that the constitution was practically completed, all its great principles were established, before institutions which may be said to be peculiar to itself had come into existence. In fact the final constitution, to the present time, has consisted less in institutions that are peculiar to itself than in the fact that institutions common in their general form to many states have been used for purposes, to embody and protect ideas, not found elsewhere, and have been by degrees in consequence of such uses somewhat transformed in character. It was not in the development of the machinery of government that the difference between the French and English constitution was brought about. It is elsewhere than in institutions proper that we must look for the cause of the peculiar result. Were it not for the fact that we are often satisfied with explaining this difference by calling attention to such things as the jury, the survival of election, the composition of the House of Commons and the peculiar characteristics of the English peerage, we might have spared ourselves even so brief an introduction as this because

³ The process of impeachment is the first thing, I think, of which exactly this may be said, though of course by the end of the reign of Edward III. Parliament had made great progress along the line described below.

institutions are always results. The idea goes before the form. The thing in its reality is already in existence, or it is rapidly coming into existence, before it takes on the guise of an institution.

It is to the realm of ideas then, that we must look to find the peculiar influence in English history which explains its peculiar result. There must have been present during the formative centuries, the thirteenth and fourteenth, some guiding principle, actively influencing affairs from time to time and producing that transformation of constitutional ideals and uses which made the English unique among governments at the close of the Middle Ages and in modern times the model of most states.

It is easy to understand upon what point in the constitution as it existed such an idea must bear; against what danger it must strive; what opposing tendency it must overcome. In England, as things had shaped themselves, there was only one rival of the constitution that was to be formed, the unlimited power of the king.⁴ The one danger was that the king should retain over the modern institutions into which feudalism was changing the same absolute control under which he had held the feudal machinery. A formative idea, shaping the English constitution into a limited monarchy, must at the very start oppose the ideal of an absolute king, must proclaim that there was some limitation on his arbitrary will, and must set up limitations of such a sort as to admit of easy and constant enlargement. The tyranny of John could have been transformed into the constitutional monarchy of the Lancastrian age in no other way. A baronage determined to protect its privileges, an ambitious House of Commons, a third estate unusually influential in public affairs, could have made no such constitution except under the guidance of some general principle, by which all classes could work, in every generation alike, and which would grow consistently and continuously as the enlarging interests of men demanded.

This guiding and creative principle is to be found in the idea that there existed a body of understood, more or less definitely formulated rights which the king was bound to observe and which those who at any point of time formed the operative force of the nation had the right to force him to observe if he showed himself disposed not to do so. This principle is imperfectly stated unless

⁴ It may perhaps be thought that the establishment of such an oligarchy as that threatened by the Provisions of Oxford, presents a third possibility, but not, I think, in the actual situation in England. The baronage was too weak, between the king on one side and the third estate on the other, to give rise to any real danger.

both parts are included in it. The second half, the right of coercion, was as essential a part of it as the first, more so, if that were possible, for without this right and its successful exercise the idea of a body of law above the king would probably have disappeared leaving behind it no practical result. If this is true, it follows that the real line of the early development of the constitution, of the events which by degrees called it into existence, is again not the development of Parliament, but the line of the enforcement of this right of coercion. The history of Parliament is the history of the independent and unintended formation of the institution which finally, when the idea had become firmly established, was to assume its guardianship and enforcement; but the history of Parliamentary origins and growth is not the history of the origin of the limited monarchy.

I have said that for generations this idea was embodied in no peculiar institutions, and this is true. Men devised no successful machinery to give it permanent expression. But I do not mean to say that no attempt was made to create such machinery. There was in fact much experimenting. From time to time institutions were invented, and machinery set up with the conscious purpose of enforcing this principle, and with more or less definite hope of permanence. But nothing of the sort was really successful or lasted beyond the mere occasion which called it into being. There was, to be sure, a general likeness in all these early attempts. The cases under John, Henry III., Edward II., Richard II. and Henry IV. have a general similarity of method and character. The vesting of royal powers in a commission, or the transferring of the responsibility of royal officers to Parliament were, one or both, typical features of all the cases. But open assumption of the royal power, or of any royal prerogative, by Parliament, or by any commission in name or form a creature of Parliament, was not to be the way of the constitution.

This early experimenting, of which the Provisions of Oxford is the most typical example, was all in the wrong direction, doomed to and deserving failure. And it possessed in no single instance any element of permanence. Each case grew out of a special situation and lasted only so long as the situation continued. Nor is there to be found any line of institutional connection between the cases.⁵ On every new occasion when it was necessary to apply the fundamental principle, a method was devised anew and, whenever

⁵ The demands for the confirmation of Magna Carta do form a continuous line of connection, but a line not of institutions. They express rather the idea which lay behind all the experiments. I shall have something to say of these demands in my second article.

any line of connection between two cases can be made out, it is at best only one of precedent and remembrance, and not of the continuous growth of an institution. Even precedent does not accumulate. No advancement is apparent. No later case builds on its predecessors, or goes on to improve what had been before into a more perfect or lasting instrument for controlling the king. The instances are individual, disconnected and unprogressive, but they must not be taken therefore to prove that in the meantime the fundamental principle had fallen out of sight.

But while this abortive experimenting had been going forward, there went on a quite independent line of evolution which is characterized by all that these attempts lack. It is continuous, cumulative and progressive. At first it had nothing to do with the coercion of the king, gradually more, and from the end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century it absorbed into itself the line of experiments which before had been without permanent result, and became the sole guardian of the interests of the nation as against the king. This is the evolution of Parliament, or to distinguish and to name that which really evolved and which brought about the great result, it is the evolution of the House of Commons. That evolution, so far as we are concerned with it, however, did not consist in any perfection of Parliament as an institution. The constitutional result was not reached because there were two houses instead of three, nor because the minor nobility united with the burgesses to form the House of Commons, nor because of the growing definiteness of constitution and organization of Parliament as the fourteenth century went on. Improvement of machinery assisted the process, but only by rendering it easier and more likely to be continuous.

What made Parliament finally the embodiment of the fundamental principle of the constitution was the fact that through the whole fourteenth century it had been steadily enlarging the body of law which the king must observe, and in most important particulars. Beginning with and assuming control of the specific principle that there should be no taxation without consent, Parliament gradually made clear its bearing and enlarged its scope to include all sources of revenue except those of the feudal suzerain, and indeed encroached most seriously on these in the matter of tallage. From this vantage ground it reached forward to the assertion, not yet fully understood in all its bearings, that the king's expenditure of his revenue should be limited by the specifications of the grant. During the same time in a different direction, Parlia-

ment was making another addition to the law which the king must obey, more difficult and also more significant and decisive, because wholly new. This was the establishment of the principle that the House of Commons must be consulted and consent to every new act having the force of law. In demanding that its consent should always be obtained to taxation, Parliament was only assuming to itself the exercise of a right of the individual vassal which the feudal law had clearly and everywhere recognized and which the Great Council, as standing for the class, had assumed before the existence of Parliament. As the feudal income broadened out to meet the exigencies of the modern state, Parliament insisted that the principle of consent should broaden also to cover all forms of taxation. This was a logical demand, and even a king like Edward I. found that it had been so strongly fortified by the earlier events of the thirteenth century that it was not possible to resist it, and he was forced against his will to restore it to the Great Charter. But in assuming an exclusive right to make new laws, the Parliament of the fourteenth century was taking a position in which it could find no support in the old feudal constitution and which was an enlargement of the law above the king almost revolutionary in character. It is likely that no such assumption could have been made, and clearly it could not have been established but for the progress which Parliament had made in the matter of taxation. There had been very little that may be called new legislation in the feudal age, but what there had been was the act of king and *curia*. In this, as in other respects, there had been no distinction between the great and the small *curia*, and in this, as in other respects, the functions of the old *curia regis* descended along the line of the Council as legitimately as along that of the House of Lords.⁶ For Parliament to assert that an act of legislative character by the king and the upper house, or by the king and the Council,

⁶ See my article on the *Descendants of the Curia Regis* in the last number of this journal. It is to be said in modification of the text that some distinction did exist between the two bodies in practice, but it was like that which existed between them in the judicial function of the *curia*. It was based on the importance of the case or of the parties concerned. It was a distinction of fitness, of convenience, determined by the specific occasion, and not growing out of a difference of function or of right. In other words it was not a distinction of an institutional nature. Probably to complete the explanation of this advance there should be taken into account the rapid dying out of political feudalism, and indeed of the most fundamental feudal distinctions, which accompanied the early stages of Parliamentary history. Had the feudal point of view been retained, even no more perfectly than in the first half of the reign of Henry III., it is likely that the development would have taken the more normal form of a co-ordinate, rather than a supreme legislative right in Parliament.

must not have the same force as a statute, was to go counter to all precedents not merely of feudalism at its height, but of the thirteenth century as well. But this it did assert and in the end, so far as the main point was concerned, the king yielded.

But it was not alone, though chiefly, by enlarging the law which binds the king that Parliament was becoming the guardian and creator of the constitution. In beginning to audit the treasurer's accounts in the reign of Edward III., in the party struggles of the close of that reign and the first years of the reign of Richard II., in the application of old principles and forms to the new use of impeachment, in the coercion of Richard in the first part of his reign, and in the successful revolution at its close, Parliament was advancing by other steps than the making of new law to stand in the balance over against the king, and to assume the direction of constitutional growth. This is the period, the last part of the fourteenth century, when, as I think, the two lines of development which had been going on really apart, the natural development of Parliament and the line of experimenting in methods of coercing the king, really coalesce into one, and henceforward the natural development of Parliament and its powers is at the same time the natural development of the limited monarchy. The Lancastrian period, startlingly and prematurely modern, is an age when the idea and practice of Parliamentary leadership grew familiar and came to seem the natural and traditional order of things, not with all the fullness of understanding of later times, it needed the struggles of the seventeenth century to produce that, but clearly enough to insure their permanence. As compared with this result, we cannot say that the establishment of freedom of debate and the other privileges of Parliament, or of the control of elections, are essential enlargements of the law to which the king was subject.⁷ The age which followed the Lancastrian was one of suspended activity, or of reaction, or more accurately it was one during which Parliament gained the same degree of control over the ecclesiastical organization of the state which it had already acquired over the political. At its beginning the answer of a Yorkist House of Lords to Richard of York's claim to the throne is a constitutional landmark of the utmost significance, and in many ways it might be shown that the English constitution of 1460 was of a type new to the world. Into the details of these later times we do not need to go for our present purpose.

⁷ The practical importance, however, of a case arising under these rights, the case of Goodwin and Fortescue, at the beginning of the reign of James I. should not be overlooked. It brought the king face to face with the constitution, and taught him the existence of a body of law which he could not contravene.

We now return to our original problem but in more specific form: how and when did there enter English history the principle that there is a body of law above the king which he may be compelled to obey if he is unwilling to do so? Continued study of this question leads me only to a restatement of my earlier opinion,⁸ that it was the work of Magna Carta to transfer this principle from the feudal to the modern state, and that in this fact we have the explanation of the influence and significance of the Great Charter in English history.⁹

That there was in the feudal system of things a body of law, of recognized right, which the highest suzerain, the lord paramount of the realm, could not violate, hardly needs, I think, to be proved to anyone familiar with feudal law. Underlying all of

⁸ See vol. V. of the *REVIEW* (1900), p. 650; and *The Political History of England*, II. 439 (1905).

⁹ It has been suggested that in this opinion I have followed Professor Maitland. In one sense this is true. My publication did follow his; see Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, first ed. (1895), I. 152. But, what I understand the suggestion to mean, that my view of the Charter was derived from his, is certainly not the case. I have been very glad to find myself reaching the same result as so distinguished a scholar, and the fact has undoubtedly given me greater confidence in my conclusions, but those conclusions were entirely independent, reached by a different road and resting on a different body of fact. My original approach to Magna Carta was not through English history or law, quite the reverse; nor did I reach my present understanding by an analysis of it as primarily an English document. I came to the study of it directly from the study of continental feudal institutions and law with which I had occupied what leisure I found for some years. Called upon for class-room purposes to read the document carefully for the first time since my special interest in feudalism had begun, I remember clearly the astonishment with which I recognized the fact that it was practically pure feudal law both in its details and in its underlying principle. There speedily followed the conclusions that England must have been a thoroughly feudal state, as I had not before supposed it to be, and that in the fundamental principle of feudal law, which is also the fundamental principle of Magna Carta, we have the explanation of the influence of that document in English history and the key to the origin of the constitution. It was this conclusion which turned all my interest to the study of early English history to which up to that time I had given no attention, and it was reached before I had read the *History of English Law*, or to my present recollection any other of Professor Maitland's writings. It led me to their study. His conclusion appears to me to rest on an analysis of Magna Carta itself, and I do not understand that he ever fully appreciated its relation to feudal law in general, or developed in his thought, as he could hardly have failed to do if he had given attention to the point, the relation of the fundamental principle of Magna Carta to the origin of the constitution. I have stated these facts so fully not from personal reasons merely, but because it seems to me one method of asserting with emphasis that I believe it to be indispensably necessary, if one would understand the origin of the English constitution, to understand first of all the real meaning of Magna Carta and its relation to the fundamental contract idea of feudal law.

feudalism, practices, law and institutions, was the fact of contract.¹⁰ The feudal relationship was created by a contract; it could be created in no other way. The fact that the terms of that contract were often, probably usually, unwritten is of no importance. Homage, fealty and investiture were the well-understood forms of making such a contract, and the custom of the locality defined clearly to both parties its terms, if no special variation from the ordinary in a given case required special definition. Now this fundamental contract of feudalism was everywhere regarded as contract always is: it bound both parties alike, not to quite the same things, but equally. It requires no long study of any feudal code to see that it all rests back on a contract, and a contract binding the sovereign as truly as the lowest vassal. So far as this principle relates to the ownership of land it is of no importance, for private property and royal grants must be to a degree secure in any régime. It was the peculiarity of the feudal system that it brought under the operation of this same principle public relationships and duties and nearly the whole body of public law.¹¹ The vassal class, those who entered into the feudal relationship and who formed, while feudalism was at its height, practically the whole operative force of the state, bound themselves by the initial contract to certain public duties, financial, military, legislative and judicial, and to no more. We are here especially concerned with this fact from the suzerain's side. Of the services by which public business was carried on, he could demand of the individual vassal only those which the particular contract specified. The

¹⁰ No one, I am sure, will suppose that in declaring Magna Carta to rest for its justification on the fundamental contract of feudalism, I am asserting that it was itself a contract between the nation and the king. Such an interpretation of the Charter appears to me wholly wrong. It assumes the existence in 1215 of a nation in the later sense, long before such a thing had come into being, and it assumes the existence of a political idea and theory even more impossible to the time. In saying that, as a statement of what the king is bound to do or not to do, it rests on the fundamental contract of feudalism, I am saying merely that it is a statement of feudal law. It was not Magna Carta but the circumstances of the future which gave to the fact that there was a body of law above the king creative power in English history. Magna Carta emphasized the fact and made the suggestion of the right of enforcement, in a way never forgotten, but this was all it did. Nor did feudal law furnish, except in a few particulars and these much transformed, the body of law by which the king was bound. The great work of Magna Carta was not done by its specific provisions; the secret of its influence is to be found in its underlying idea.

¹¹ Not quite all: see note 15 below. The definition of feudalism, that it is a system of things in which private law has usurped the place of public, is probably well known, but to me at least it does not seem that the bearings of this fact on English constitutional history have been seen as clearly as they should be, nor its consequences followed to the end.

only point of vagueness in that contract was the obligation assumed by the vassal to serve his lord with honor and loyalty. There was nothing about this, however, which allowed the king to demand of the vassal without his consent further money payments than those specified, or more military service, or in different conditions of time or place, or to infringe his rights of private jurisdiction, or to subject him to a different mode of trial from the usual feudal, much less to punish him without trial no matter what he had done. In these particulars and others like them every feudal sovereign was a limited monarch, and the history of every feudal state gives evidence of the enforcement of these limitations against the king. This was just as true of the strong Norman kings as of any others,¹² though they were the most powerful of all feudal sovereigns, and every reign up to Magna Carta shows the existence and effectiveness of these checks.¹³ Everyone of them in some way recognized the fact that there was a body of law which he must observe. Particularly is this the meaning of the charter of Henry I. Like Magna Carta it contains very little that is new, but it rests on the fact that William Rufus had been doing things which he had no right to do and which the barons had the right to bind his successor in terms not to do.

If now we turn to Magna Carta we find in the first place that the conditions which called it into existence were precisely of a sort to demand the enforcement of this fundamental principle of feudalism. Looked at from the point of view of the feudal baron, John had been during the greater part of his reign constantly violating the feudal contract. To enumerate the particulars would be to name the larger part of the clauses of the Great Charter,¹⁴ but two particulars seem to have stood out to that time as especially wide-reaching in their consequences: John's financial methods and his disregard of judicial rights. Of course in neither of these respects was John an innovator; he was only following in the way opened by his father and brother. But circumstances had

¹² Plehn, *Matheus Parisiensis*, p. 1, notes this fact, but does not state quite accurately the reason for it.

¹³ Interesting instances of this fact in the case of the stronger kings are to be found in the failure of the demands of William II. regarding Anselm in the meeting of the *curia regis* at Rockingham in 1095, of the request of Henry II. for a change in the object of the "sheriff's aid" at Woodstock in 1163 and of the request of Richard I. for the feudal service in an unusual form at Oxford in 1197.

¹⁴ Magna Carta does not state all the points of which the barons had earlier complained. It is discreetly silent on the subject of military service in France, for instance, which they had asserted the king wrongfully required. In this they were not right, and it is some evidence of the justice and exact legality of the Charter that it does not put forward such a claim.

forced him to go forward in taxation farther than any one before him and, if this was not so true of the judicial system, the barons were now able to understand more clearly the result for themselves of the judicial changes, and also they might naturally connect with them, as showing their logical tendency, John's habit of arbitrary punishment without judicial process.

As we look at the issue between the barons and the king with our understanding of later times, our sympathies may perhaps be mixed. It is easy enough for us to see that John was at work in the way of the future. The changes which he was striving to make were inevitable and necessary. The transformation which he was helping to carry through was the transformation of the medieval machinery of government into the modern. To this extent we may sympathize with him. But John was carrying forward this work decidedly under the influence of the tendency which seems to have been common in decaying feudalism, the tendency towards absolutism. If also we look at the matter strictly from the feudal point of view, it is impossible not to say that the barons were right. John's acts may have been steps towards a better future; but some of his methods of raising money he had no legal right to employ, the interference with private jurisdiction by the writ *Praecipe* was without justification,¹⁵ and the trial by their peers repeatedly demanded by victims of his tyranny, he could not justly refuse. In every particular touched upon in Magna Carta so far as it was a part of the old feudal law, the barons were wholly within their rights.¹⁶ They were stating law by which the king was already bound, as in his heart he must have admitted.¹⁷

¹⁵ That is, without justification in feudal law. In issuing the writ the king acted on his general right to make justice prevail, and to demand obedience to his writs. See Brunner, *Schwurgericht*, p. 405; Flach, *Origines de l'Ancienne France*, III, 366, n. 3. In other words he found his authority in an older ideal of his office which had survived in some particulars and which, wherever acted on in practice, was the source of inconsistencies and contradictions in the feudal world. In this case the fact should not be overlooked that the king used it to deprive his vassal of a property right, a source of income, which the feudal law affirmed to be his as truly as his domain manors. That the political system from which the right was drawn was not merely older but sounder and more permanent, has nothing to do with the case. By the system which was then ruling such matters and which had ruled them for generations, the act was unquestionably illegal.

¹⁶ It will be noticed that some clauses, for example, clause 25, are not included under this statement.

¹⁷ As soon as he was able John denounced the Charter and procured its annulling by the pope. From the precedents established by his father and brother he was right enough in doing so, but to justify himself by a real and not a usurped right, he must fall back on that older conception of the kingly office,

But here was the practical problem. The barons knew well enough that legal right, as the law then stood, was on their side, but how was it to be enforced, how to be secured for the future against such a king? None of his predecessors had been stronger than he, none indeed had given such an exhibition of strength, had seemed so unshakable, or had held an unwilling nation in such a grip of iron. If defeat abroad and combination at home at last placed him at a disadvantage, how was the recovery of his tyranny to be prevented? How was the law to be made secure against his arbitrary will when the combination was broken up and his strength restored? This, the one urgent problem of the time, gives us the explanation of Magna Carta; how to deal with a king who persistently refused to obey the law which he was rightfully bound to obey and whose promises could not be trusted, how to deal with him in such form as not merely to secure incontestable recognition of the fact that he was bound to obey the law, but also an accepted, legal and orderly means of forcing him to obey if he should break his promises.

This is the explanation of Magna Carta so far as that is given by the historical situation which produced it. The written document gives us the same result. It was suggested of course by the charter of Henry I., and when the archbishop produced a copy of that charter its special fitness for the occasion must have been

not recognized by the feudal law, to which I have referred in note 15. In that conception of king and state there was in truth no room for the principle on which the barons acted, but it was a conception which had had small share in the world, outside infrequent books of scholars, for more than two centuries. It may be said that the right to control the sovereign by force was merely an application of the general right of revolution which exists under any government, or that it was due in successive cases to the action of underlying economic and social causes whose operation may be stated in abstract terms. See my *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, p. 99, n. 1, and cf. *Polit. Sc. Quart.*, XXI. 535. Such statements contain some degree of truth, and in the final narrative of human history they will be allowed due weight, but to the present-day work of the political historian they offer nothing of value. They are either equally true of all cases whatever their special form, or they deal with influences acting in so removed a degree, through secondary or tertiary agents, that they tell us nothing of what actually occurred, or of what the actors in events believed. Nor do such generalizations ever take account of the external forms of the body of institutions, which condition to some extent, and in their forms record, advance or decline. Whatever may be the business of the student of political science, or of the sociologist, it is the business of the historian, in the present stage of knowledge, not to deal with hidden causes, or with abstractions, but to find out what actually occurred and to describe as accurately as possible the immediately accompanying forms and ideas and the process of change. Nor personally do I believe that it is of value in any science to seek for ultimate causes until the phenomena are accurately known.

clearly seen. Once more as by the earlier king, the law had been violated, and once more it was necessary to secure a pledge that those violations should cease. This gives us the body, the greater part, of the Charter. But in one point the case differed from that of Henry I. and in one point the Great Charter goes beyond the earlier one. The king from whom the pledge was demanded was the king who had violated the law. If the charter of Henry I. had been forced from William Rufus by insurgent barons, it probably would not have stopped where it did. Then, as in 1215, the difficult question would have forced itself forward how to compel the king to keep his pledge if he should again violate the law. To this question the barons of John found an answer where they found the right to proceed originally against the king, and to make the specific demands which they embodied in the Charter.

We should be led, I believe, to the same explanation of Magna Carta as a document, if we knew nothing of the charter of Henry I. The key to its meaning and to the right on which the barons founded it, is clause 61. Of that clause there are two questions to be asked: first, exactly what was it intended to do; and second, on what ground of right did it rest. In the first place the general purpose of the clause lies plainly on the surface. It was to compel the king to keep the engagements he had entered into in the Charter. John had agreed to be bound by certain statements of law, mostly old, some new, embodied in the earlier clauses. In ordinary cases this would be enough. The king's promise in the form of a legal grant would be all that would be asked for. It is clear that John's promise was not trusted. The question how he could be forced to keep it would arise as soon as men began to consider the drawing up of a charter at all. It is possible that it was this question which led to the withdrawal of the northern barons, recorded by the Barnwell chronicler.¹⁸ Their spirit was such that they may very likely have said: it is utterly useless to try to bind the king with any sort of agreement; the experiment is not worth making. At any rate in the case of John the question of compelling him to keep his promise would be as immediate and pressing as any arising about the Charter. It is clear that in this difficulty the final appeal against the king would be to that which had originally forced the Charter from him—to insurrection. But obviously also this should be only a final appeal. The thing to be done was to devise some method of enforcing the provisions of the Charter, when the king proved unwilling, which would

¹⁸ Walter of Coventry, II. 222.

secure the rights granted, to which the king would agree, and which would involve insurrection only as a last resort. That is the specific object of the clause—to set up machinery which will take hold of abuses when the king refuses to reform them, enforce and protect the rights of the persons interested, and do so as recognized machinery of the state without a resort to force. The real nature and purpose of the clause is to be seen from the way it would have worked in practice. To four barons of the twenty-five, the individual was to bring his complaint of some wrong which he could not get corrected. Plainly then the four must decide whether the case was one of real abuse and one intended by the Charter to fall within their supervision. That is to say the clause conferred upon them a judicial function, which was really a prerogative of the king's, to determine whether the law had been violated or not in a given case, and to grant redress. If the four found an abuse, they carried the case to the twenty-five, when of course their decision was subject to review. If the twenty-five, or a majority of them, agreed with the four, they called the attention of the king to the abuse and required him to redress it within forty days. This is all the king had to do with the case. He had no voice in the decision. His judicial prerogative of determining violations of the law and initiating their correction was taken away from him, and he was reduced to the function of executing the judgments of a court not his own. This was moreover under the sanction of civil war. If the king still refused redress the last resort was insurrection, which is declared legal, and defined as limited in character, and temporary only. Permanent deposition of the sovereign was carefully excluded. A clumsy arrangement, impossible to operate with success no doubt, but we should never forget that it was the first step ever taken in history towards what we know as a limited monarchy, towards the creation of a body of constitutional law which the king must obey under sanction of insurrection. Considering that the men of 1215 had no precedent to go upon, no model of any such machinery to follow, no literary expression of such ideas, or theorizing about such procedure, they did very well. The scheme was conceivably workable, practice would no doubt have disclosed fatal defects, but practice was exactly what nobody had as yet. The character of the scheme however is clear. It was a method which it was hoped would secure the enforcement of the Charter by putting into operation through others a function naturally belonging to the king but which he refused to exercise for the ends of justice, under the

ultimate sanction of war. As I have said of the plan in general, it was not finally to be the way of the constitution. Transfer to others of the king's prerogatives, definite formulation of sanctions, legalization of insurrection, these were not to be in the end constitutional. But until Parliament had come into existence and had so far developed that it could begin to exercise in reality prerogatives to which it laid no claim in theory, until it could begin the long process of transferring the real sovereignty of the state to itself, expedients of this kind were the only possible means of enforcing law and limitations upon the king, and it was in them that the constitution had its origin.

Of the second question, on what ground of right did clause 61 rest, the answer is equally plain and has already been made. The clause rested on the same ground of right as the insurrection which had forced the Charter from the king. In the machinery of the court of twenty-five and in the modified and temporary right of insurrection which it recognized, the clause falls within the limits of the larger right. None of the insurgent barons would have admitted for a moment that he was guilty of treason, nor could the king, with due regard to the law, have proved him to be by the mere fact of insurrection.¹⁹ It would be necessary for him to prove that there was no legal ground for the *diffidatio* which had been served upon him. There are indications which seem to imply that between 1210 and 1215 there was some feeling about in the minds of those who were preparing to oppose the king's tyranny for some legal ground of action against him. The theory of the old elective monarchy, which had been perhaps revived by the question of Arthur's title, seems to have been thought of. This probably accounts for the tradition about Archbishop Hubert's

¹⁹ Feudal law may be said, indeed, to have recognized with peculiar clearness the right of the vassal to make war on his suzerain when that suzerain was the lord paramount, because there was in that case no higher authority to which appeal could be made. It will be noticed also that deposition was the only form which the extreme penalty could take, which in the case of the mesne lord was confiscation, i. e., the raising of the rear fief to be an immediate fief. See the references in *The Political History of England*, II. 439, n. 1. One of the most interesting statements of this right is that in the *Etabl. de S. Louis* (ed. Viollet), II. 75 (book I., c. LIII.), because it covers the duty of the rear vassal. The lord says to his liege man: "Come with me because I wish to make war on the king, my seignior, *qui m'a veé le jugement de sa cort.*" The man answers that he will go to the king and find out if the fact is as stated. If it is, he returns to his lord. *Et se il ne s'an voloit aler o lui, il en perdroit son fié par droit.* It will be noticed that the case supposed in the passage as calling the right into action is one of the chief grounds of complaint against John. The point with regard to treason, as a result in his case of the reverse process, the king's *diffidatio* of him, is clearly made in 1233 by Richard Marshal in argument with the king's representative. Matt. Par., III. 257-258, and cf. 274-275. See also the case of the Earl of Albemarle in the annals of Dunstable, *Ann. Mon.*, III. 64.

speech at the coronation of John, which Louis adapted to his own use in his manifesto of 1216, and which Matthew Paris recorded, probably more nearly in its original form. The coronation oath seems also to have suggested itself as a means of control, and this fact may possibly account for the form of oath which was demanded of John after the removal of the papal censures in 1213.²⁰ But however it may have been with regard to such speculations, when the time for action came they were all fortunately dropped, and the baronage in insisting upon the king's feudal obligations fell back upon the natural and simpler feudal right of appeal, the *diffidatio* and its accompanying right of insurrection. This feudal principle accounts fully for the clause, and it is the only source from which its justification can have come. Had the barons acted on any other ground of right existing at the time, like election or the coronation oath, the clause must have taken another form.

The body of Magna Carta and clause 61 constitute together the first inclination of the constitution towards a limited monarchy and mark the point of time before which no tendency in that direction can be found, the one as insisting that there is a body of law which the king is bound to observe, the other as affirming that the community of the ruled has the right to set up machinery to enforce the king's obligation, and, if this proves insufficient, to levy war upon him. It is a beginning only, as yet incomplete. The body of law contains very little of that to which the king was subject in 1460; the machinery of enforcing it is less elaborate and perfected than that of 1258 or 1310; the method of protection is quite different from that of the seventeenth century. But it contains in germ all that followed; from it the whole constitution unfolded. Now this beginning is in the feudal system. Before 1215 in the history of English institutions, general as distinguished from local, lies nothing but the feudal system, modified only in the direction of a more absolute monarchy. The two fundamental principles of the constitution which Magna Carta declared were both fundamental principles of feudalism and were drawn directly from it in 1215. The origin of the English limited monarchy is to be sought not in the primitive German state, nor in the idea of an elective monarchy or a coronation oath, nor in the survival of institutions of local freedom to exert increasing influence on the central government. Though all these were contributory, combined they could not alone have produced the result. The principle which moulds and shapes all elements into the great result came from feudalism.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

²⁰ Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe), III. 260; (ed. Hewlett), II. 81.

THE GREEK RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

THE history of culture in Italian cities of the fifteenth century has long been considered a fascinating record of vivid, brilliant personalities who displayed a delightful enthusiasm for pictures, statues and cathedrals, antique coins, strange manuscripts and Ciceronian rhetoric. The causes of the rapid development of artistic and historical feeling that gave the period its peculiar character have never been altogether determined. But writers of reputation have occasionally ventured the opinion that the revival of the study of the classical literatures, in particular of the Greek language and the Greek writers, which marked the opening of the century, supplied the needed stimulus to the Italian intellect and set it free forever from the bondage of medieval ignorance and superstition; in short, that out of the revival of Greek grew the Italian Renaissance. The revival itself, they tell us, was due largely to the influence of Petrarch, "the first modern man". He it was who scorned scholasticism, and found his comfort in the Latin classics and set his contemporaries and successors to inquiring how a knowledge of the Greek tongue could be regained. It is the purpose of this paper to present a few considerations bearing upon this theory and to inquire whether the much-vaunted recovery of Greek in the fifteenth century had in fact the significance and value which are currently ascribed to it.

In the beginning one may be saved from the danger of regarding the fifteenth-century movement as unprecedented and unique by a hasty preliminary glance at the work accomplished in a similar direction by the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During those centuries, it is enough to remember, Latin translations of Euclid, Ptolemy, two or three dialogues of Plato and almost the whole of Aristotle were introduced into western Europe and widely and seriously studied. The effect of the influx of new learning was to enrich and broaden immediately the scientific and philosophical courses of the schools and to quicken and educate thought along many lines. Both Plato and Aristotle soon had disciples who applied the methods of reasoning and the knowledge gained from their works to discussions of religion and dogma.

Roger Bacon composed a Greek grammar on a comprehensive plan to enable Latins to undertake the study of Greek authors in the original and to read books which had not yet been translated.

In the end further progress was checked by the forces of conservatism and reaction. The dialogues of Plato were not included among prescribed university text-books and became again less known and less influential. The works of Aristotle were re-edited and re-interpreted by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in such a form as to furnish a solid, scientific foundation for a vast system of Catholic theology. Heretical free-thinking was suppressed at certain critical junctures by the church courts and counteracted in general by the able and orthodox teaching of the Mendicant friars. The policy of Roger Bacon's superiors kept him unknown and unheard during his lifetime and at his death his grammar as a potential factor in the situation perished with him. The process of translating from the Greek stopped. The leadership both in original thought and in the revival of classical learning passed for the time being from France to Italy. But a large and important portion of Greek philosophy and science had actually been appropriated by the thirteenth century and the way had thereby been made easier for the recovery of more in the fifteenth.

For various reasons north Italy toward the end of the fourteenth century seemed peculiarly adapted to become the seat of another classical renaissance, though of one somewhat different in character and results from that which had already run its course. For some time past Tuscan architects, sculptors and painters had been winning a name for excellence and had been taking models not only from Gothic workmanship of the North but also from ancient monuments preserved above ground in the cities of the peninsula. John of Pisa, for example, had introduced a copy of a Roman Venus among the figures about the foot of the pulpit of the Pisan cathedral. Giotto had borrowed designs of ornamentation from the columns of Trajan. Notice was being attracted to the remnants of antique art that were not buried in stone walls or under dust and mire or so disfigured and broken as to be unrecognizable.

On the other hand Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and their followers were arousing in their countrymen a sense of the beauty and refinement that might be found in literature and were reminding them again of the existence of venerable treasures that had long been neglected by the western world. Outwardly the church still kept its undisputed prestige but in Italy at least it ruled with a lax and lenient hand. Academic radicalism or even downright

paganism of thought need fear now no serious interference and might actually receive encouragement from tolerant ecclesiastical patrons of letters. Finally the Italian merchant, having attained to a state of political independence and great social prosperity, possessed the leisure and the wealth to encourage scholarship and was in an unusually patriotic and ambitious mood. Both patriotism and ambition disposed him to find pleasure in recalling memories of the ancient past. A special heritage of glory descended, as he felt, directly upon himself from those mighty Romans whom he loved to call his ancestors.

The student of the thirteenth century had felt profound reverence for the wisdom of the ancients but Petrarch was perhaps in fact the first man of eminence to call attention to certain esthetic and moral differences in style and point of view between them and medieval writers. He discerned in the classics a latitude of opinion and a broad, philosophic code of ethics together with a grace of expression and euphony of diction that seemed wanting in his contemporaries. Observing that his favorite authors, Cicero and Vergil, alluded continually to Greek works unattainable to him as the sources of their inspiration, he attempted to learn Greek from a Byzantine envoy at Avignon but failed to master much beyond the alphabet. Nevertheless he succeeded in turning the thoughts of his literary successors in Italy toward the subjects which had possessed so powerful an attraction for him and in setting up certain new standards of literary excellence that were to prevail for generations afterward.

Two months after Petrarch's death Coluccio Salutato, a rising young Florentine, composed a letter of eulogy upon his learning and employed therein a phrase which was shortly to become famous. Speaking of Petrarch's zeal for Greek and Latin letters Salutato called them, "*studia humanitatis*". In a letter written some time later he took occasion to explain the phrase, stating that he had found the word *humanitas* used by Cicero and other Romans to denote at the same time affability and courtesy of disposition and culture and refinement of mind, that is, the qualities which especially distinguish man from brute.¹ By the opening of the fifteenth century the term was in common circulation, applied to the study of antiquity from the esthetic or literary point of view as differentiated from the study of law, theology or any other technical or professional subject. The "*studia humanitatis*", it was declared, taught one by both precept and example the most important lessons,

¹ Salutato, *Epistolae* (ed. Novati), vol. I., p. 179; vol. III., pp. 534-536.

how to be high-minded and to be eloquent, how to lead an admirable life guided by motives of patriotism and honor, and how to express oneself with harmony, persuasiveness and elegance, avoiding alike clownishness of demeanor and barbarisms of language, proving oneself in every act and sentence the enlightened and fastidious gentleman and scholar.² Such an ideal of deportment was essentially aristocratic and artificial but it appealed to the growing appreciation of the value of form and decorum in human undertakings.

An illustration of a purely humanistic mode of judgment is furnished by the well-known letter of Poggio Bracciolini on the trial and execution of Jerome of Prague. The ecclesiastical arguments Poggio refuses to rehearse nor on the other hand does he allude to the practical problems suggested by the reformer's fate. Instead he devotes pages to applauding the sonorousness of Jerome's speech, the effectiveness of his gestures and the learning with which he quoted the classics and the fathers. He deplores the loss of such an ornament to the literary profession. "I admit", he remarks, "that I have never seen any one plead a case, in particular a case involving life and death, with an eloquence so like that of the ancients whom we all so deeply admire. It was marvelous to behold the fluency, the grace, the persuasiveness, the dignity of mien, the clearness of voice and the courage with which he replied to his adversaries and argued his cause to the last. One must regret that so noble and lofty a mind was beguiled into heresy, if indeed the accusations brought against him are well grounded. For I am no judge in such matters; I acquiesce in the decisions of those who are wiser than I. . . . He spoke like an orator, yet he was composed. He showed indignation and stirred the onlookers to pity, yet he neither aimed nor desired to take advantage of their emotion. He stood cool, fearless, not only despising death but even seeking it. You would have pronounced him a second Cato."³

The passage tempts one to contrast for an instant the spirit of the fifteenth-century humanist with that of the thirteenth-century student of Aristotle. The latter would undoubtedly have been im-

²For an eloquent exposition of this theory, see Leonardo Bruni's letter to a young friend who was hesitating between "*studia humanitatis*" and civil law, *Epistolae* (ed. Mehus), vol. II., pp. 49-51.

³Poggio, *Epistolae* (ed. de Tonellis), vol. I., pp. 11-19. An English rendering of the letter is in Whitcomb's *Source-Book of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 40-47. Compare with this Vittorino da Feltre's defence of the reliability of the historian Livy on the ground that a sound Latinist, an elegant narrator and a Paduan could not possibly be untrustworthy. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre*, p. 218.

pressed also by Jerome's erudition and spirited demeanor, but would have been still more concerned to follow the logical intricacies of the debate. The former is indifferent to logic; he hardly reasons at all; he ignores for the most part all elements in the situation but those of sentiment and taste.

It has seemed worth while to dwell at some length upon the peculiar standpoint of the humanist and his conception of the quality and aim of his pursuits, because without some understanding of his feeling on these matters it is impossible to comprehend the nature of the Greek Renaissance. It is only necessary to add that the generation which followed after Petrarch spoke like him somewhat slightly of the training afforded by scholastic philosophy and, above all else, revered and imitated the manner and style of Cicero. Like Petrarch also they desired to make further acquaintance with the Greeks whom Cicero acknowledged as his superiors. If Cicero were eloquent and uplifting, Demosthenes and Plato must be more eloquent and uplifting. The most promising pupil of Petrarch left his master twice to travel through Italy on a vain quest for some one to teach him Greek.

The events which actually ushered in the Greek Renaissance are related now in most histories and may be passed over rapidly here. In 1395 Manuel Chrysoloras, a Byzantine of family and influence and scholarly reputation, who had made himself pleasantly known during a short residence as imperial envoy in Venice, was invited to teach Greek in the University of Florence. For twenty years thereafter he spent at intervals considerable time in Italy, whether as teacher of Greek in Florence or Pavia or as representative from Constantinople at the papal court. He was apparently possessed of a fund of genuine learning in his own literature, an enthusiasm for imparting knowledge and an urbanity of manner and kindness of disposition that fitted him well to be the apostle of a forgotten culture. The most successful Hellenists of the first quarter of the fifteenth century were his pupils. There seems to have been something even impressive about his personality. Amid all the caustic and supercilious criticism that fills the literary correspondence of those years his is almost the only name that is invariably mentioned without a derogatory remark, with only respect and affection.⁴

Chrysoloras was followed to Italy by others of his countrymen whose numbers increased especially during the twenty years between

⁴For some of the many warm allusions to Chrysoloras, see Traversari, *Epistolae* (ed. Mehus), vol. I., p. ccclxiii; P. P. Vergerio, *Epistolae* (ed. Luciani), pp. 218-219; Poggio, *Epistolae*, vol. I., pp. 23-24.

the meeting of the Council of Ferrara-Florence and the completion of the Mohammedan conquest of the Eastern Empire. They hoped of course to find comfortable employment, as he had done, as teachers or copyists or translators of Greek works into Latin. Some few were in fact liberally treated and in time were able to exert considerable influence in Italian circles. Bessarion was elevated to the cardinalate and even discussed as a candidate for election to the papacy. Gemisthus Pletho was entertained as guest at the court of the Medici. The great majority of the refugees, however, losing distinction in western eyes as they became more numerous, dependent upon western bounty for shelter and livelihood, were soon regarded with indifference or active contempt. Their peculiarities of dress were treated as material for diversion by the wits. "I never look at one of those men without laughing", writes a young Italian at the Council of Ferrara who himself was making translations from Lucian, Plutarch and Xenophon. "For some of them I see with beards streaming over their chests, hair thick, rough and unkempt, as we read the Spartans wore theirs under the laws of Lycurgus that they might be more formidable when they met the enemy; others have beards partly trimmed and heads half shaved and painted eyebrows. Some wear caps of various kinds, some turbans with birds' feathers or a gold fastening on top and long sleeved tunics. As the poet says of the Phrygians, 'and their tunics have sleeves and their turbans adornments'. . . . The greater number are so absurd that no one is solemn or morose enough to restrain his mirth when he sees them."⁵

On the other hand the Greeks, proud and irascible in their poverty and exile, were slow to learn a new language or to adapt themselves to new ways and often possessed neither the knowledge of their own literature nor the flexibility of mind to make themselves valuable to western employers. Italians who had learned Greek at home or had studied it, as Guarino and Filelfo did, in the East, were in many cases preferred both as teachers and translators to the Greeks themselves who were considered arrogant and unreliable in temper and who spoke and wrote such halting and imperfect Latin that they could with difficulty be understood. Even men of in-

⁵ Lapi Castelliunculi, *De Curiae Commodis*, extract in Hodus, *De Graecis Illustribus*, p. 31. Compare Bruni, *Epistolae*, vol. I., p. 91. About this time Traversari was writing anxious letters to the pope and Cosimo de Medici, urging that care be taken to have the Greeks treated with respect at Florence, *Epistolae*, vol. II., pp. 58-59, 62, 341-342. For a discussion of this whole phase of the situation see Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, vol. II., pp. 116-118.

disputable scholarship and merit, such as Gaza or Lascaris, found it incredibly hard to make a respectable living, so stubborn was the prejudice against their race. The most devoted classical enthusiast of the day applied the word, *graeculus* or *semigraecus* to an enemy as one of the bitterest terms of opprobrium in his vocabulary. As relentlessly as ever in the Middle Ages he drew the distinction between the great men of the Hellenic past, whom he was bound to esteem, and their degenerate and schismatical descendants, a distinction obscured only for a season by the personal popularity of Chrysoloras.

Manuscripts of ancient Greek works were brought to Italy in considerable numbers during this same half-century before the downfall of Constantinople. The most noteworthy single importation was, of course, that made by the Sicilian Aurispa in 1423. He landed in Venice with two hundred and thirty-eight volumes of profane authors, a small library in itself, including as it did copies of almost every work that was to be recovered at all. The Medici subscribed money to pay off the debts Aurispa had accumulated on his stock and in course of time some of the finest manuscripts, among them the renowned Laurentian Codex, found the way into their libraries. The advent of Greek copyists made it possible also to reproduce Greek books upon Italian soil. Yet they remained comparatively rare and precious until Greek type was constructed for the printing press toward the end of the century. The humanist monk Traversari tells the story of a Greek book that was sent him from Venice by the hand of two brothers who were travelling to Florence. The young men, he says, attempted to cross the Po by boat but in the passage the skiff was overturned, the brothers were drowned and their goods sunk in the stream. His friends at Venice were distressed both at the loss of the Greek book and at the sad death of its bearers. Finally, however, they concluded to rescue what they could from the disaster and had the river-bed dragged. The book was found water-soaked and damaged. Traversari would not receive it, the associations with it being too unpleasant, and had it returned to Venice. Still he writes as if the disposition of it were a matter of moment both to himself and to every other scholar.⁶

Thus Italy became equipped with practically all the sources for Greek scholarship that we now possess, exclusive of the material recently uncovered by archaeologists. Here and there small groups of humanists prepared to avail themselves of these facilities with

⁶ Traversari, *Epistolae*, vol. II., p. 355.

great ardor and rejoicing. Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo abandoned the study of civil law. Pier Paolo Vergerio resigned a chair in the University of Padua, many another left his usual occupation, to devote himself to the acquisition of Greek.⁷ Old and young elbowed each other in Chrysoloras's lecture-room. As the first outburst of indiscriminate excitement died down, however, and the hardships of learning the new language without adequate text-book or dictionary began to be appreciated, the attendance naturally fell off, while even of those who persevered through years of application few could at any time with justice be called Greek scholars. Some fifteen or twenty possibly in the first half of the century acquired skill enough to read Greek with any pleasure or to translate with ordinary accuracy. The great majority, like Barbaro, the Venetian patrician, and many a man since his day, were able as students to read Greek with the aid of the teacher but preferred in after life to use a Latin translation.⁸

From the outset, indeed, it was recognized that to make Greek literature widely known, to bring it within reach of the average, cultivated reader, it must be translated into Latin. Chrysoloras had scarcely established himself in Florence before his abler students had begun to practice on translations. In time it was felt that one had hardly a claim to be ranked among the literary élite, if one had not translated at least one of Plutarch's *Lives* or an oration of Demosthenes. Poggio after an absence of some years in the North returned to Italy to find the fad for translating near its height. He did not rest until he had procured enough Greek to enable him to make two worthless but elaborate renderings of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and a part of the *History* of Diodorus Siculus. Having thereby brought himself up to current requirements he apparently rarely thought of his Greek again. Many another humanist who is mentioned as the author of this version or that was in reality no more than an amateur dabbler in the language and his translation nothing but a school exercise or a show-piece designed to attract the notice of a wealthy patron.

Nevertheless the defects in the translating of the time, so flagrant to a modern philologist, were to a large extent inevitable in the total lack of adequate grammars or lexicons. The elementary little catechism on the parts of speech drawn up by Chrysoloras and re-written by Guarino, the only guide available for the first fifty years, could not carry one far.⁹ The larger works of Gaza and

⁷ Bruni, *Commentarius*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scriptt.*, vol. XIX., p. 920; Vergerio, *Epistolae*, pp. 81, 101-102.

⁸ Barbaro, *Epistolae* (ed. Quirino), vol. I., p. dxlvi.

⁹ A copy of Chrysoloras's grammar is in the library of Columbia University.

Lascaris needed supplementing by dictionaries. A native Greek was not always at hand to be consulted in case of perplexity and if within reach was himself often ignorant of usages in the classical period. Furthermore, the translator was commonly without the intellectual training to qualify him to comprehend abstrusities of thought or flights of imagination. Even a preparatory perusal of Cicero or Livy was not calculated to fit one to follow unerringly the reasoning of Aristotle or Thucydides. Above all, the humanist's conception of form and style was enough to prevent him from merging his own individuality loyally in that of the Greek original. For the Greek style was seldom Ciceronian. The Italian seems early to have found it disappointingly bare of ornament or rhetoric of the sort that he had learned in his Latin reading to admire most.

Certainly one discovers almost nowhere in humanistic literature any praise of it that seems at the same time warm, genuine and sincere. It was eulogized of course occasionally in dutiful, general phrases, somewhat as Hamlet is commended to-day in a schoolboy's essay on Shakespeare. Greek literature, we are told, is great because the Romans have always considered it so and because Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Seneca took pattern from it. "In fact every Roman", as Barbaro puts it, "who was born to distinction and fulfilled his destiny, was so accomplished and learned in Greek letters that not only did he know all that was contained in them, but even had whole lines and passages by heart. Thus the Caesars, the consulares, the triumphant generals, the praetors, senators, patricians, knights and others of the same class quoted impromptu from Homer or Sophocles and wrote elegantly in Greek." Are their descendants to fall behind them? But praise like this sounds like punctilious insistence on an obligation to admire and study Greek and almost convinces one that the writer himself took little natural pleasure in it. Greek literature and Greek style must be great because we are always told they are, they keep repeating. But it is labored admiration; one seldom finds a man writing out of a full heart as if he spontaneously and honestly enjoyed them.¹⁰ The word employed to characterize Greek method is *simplicitas* with its rather unfavorable connotation. The Italian translator

¹⁰ For Barbaro's long letter of the conventional, conscientious type on the excellence and importance of Greek literature, see his *Epistolae*, vol. II., pp. 179-190. It is but one illustration out of many that might be given. For one of the exceptional expressions of evidently heartfelt admiration, see Bruni's letter on Plato, *Epistolae*, vol. I., pp. 15-17. But Bruni also sometimes praises from a sense of duty, *ibid.*, pp. 137-138. Compare Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, vol. II., pp. 160-162.

knew that his version would be judged by contemporaries who would never read the original and would applaud his work only as it succeeded in being itself elegant and ornate after the fashion of the Latin rhetoricians. Even fellow-humanists would not be apt to apply the test of fidelity to the Greek but, like Eneas Sylvius, would blame the translator if he presented them with an Aristotle who was not fluent or graceful.¹¹ A Greek book freely translated and embellished, with obscurities omitted and material rearranged to suit prevailing notions of taste and importance, was considered to have passed through a process of refinement and to have been improved by the genius of the Latins.¹²

The versions of Aristotle made in the thirteenth century were exact and literal to a degree, at a sacrifice of all idea of style. As a result they were now considered barbaric and worthless. "I could not endure", says Bruni, "that anyone should hurl a torch upon a painting by Giotto. How then do you suppose I feel when I see the books of Aristotle, more precious than any picture, marred in the flames of such a translation. Am I not distressed? Am I not indignant?"¹³ Aristotle must accordingly be totally retranslated in the style in which it might be imagined he would have written had he fortunately lived in the fifteenth century.

In view of facts like these one must admit that the part played by Greek literature in fifteenth-century Italy was less triumphant than it is ordinarily supposed to have been. The conception of the quality and purpose of the "studia humanitatis" and of the ideals suitable for a gentleman and a scholar had been well formulated after the models furnished by Cicero and the later Romans before the Greek Renaissance began. As in architecture the luxuriant Romano-Corinthian was preferred to the severer Doric, so in literature the inflated rhetoric of the late Republic and the Empire, the passionate periods of Cicero and the pompous sententiousness of Livy and Sallust, were more esteemed than the sobriety, lucidity and balance of the best periods of Greece. An acquaintance with Greek authors in the original or in translation enabled one of course to adorn an oration or a letter with imposing allusions to Themisto-

¹¹ Pius II., *Commentarii* (Rome, 1584), *Lib. X.*, p. 449.

¹² An illustration, which is readily accessible, of the inaccuracy of the translation of a comparatively simple passage by as clever a Greek scholar as Leonardo Bruni is the rendering of a part of the *Symposium*, quoted by Bruni in a letter to Cosimo de Medici, *Epistolae*, vol. VI., pp. 70-76. For one out of many instances of the tone of superiority assumed by Italian scholars when comparing the relative merits of the Greek and Latin tongues, see Lorenzo Valla, *De Linguae Latinae Elegancia* (Paris, 1532), p. 3.

¹³ Bruni, *Epistolae*, vol. I., p. 140.

cles, Pausanias or Alcibiades as well as to Manlius, Hortensius or Cato. It widened the range of one's quotations. But an ability to allude to events of Greek history or to quote from the pages of its literature does not imply that one is affected in the least by the Greek spirit or even comprehends in the least the Greek attitude of mind. The enthusiasm for antiquity, in so far as it was intelligent and unaffected and really influential, was for Roman antiquity rather than Hellenic.

How this might be true even where a Greek author was especially regarded as the source of inspiration and enlightenment is best shown perhaps by the Platonic revival. Plato's works were translated by more than one prominent scholar, academies were founded at Florence and Rome where his doctrines were studied by men inclined to independent thinking and philosophic speculation, extravagant devotion to his image and to his memory was professed by his disciples and a sort of hazy idealism permeating various departments of thought was ascribed to the widespread propagation of his theories. Yet the more one hears of this fifteenth-century Platonism, whether in its intenser forms at Florence or Rome or in its vaguer, more general manifestations in art and literature at large, the more one is assured that it is something that Plato himself would never have countenanced or acknowledged and that not even here can any genuinely Athenian spirit be said to be at work.

Plato was first made popular by the Greek teacher, Gemisthus Pletho, who spent a few years at Florence and invested his discourses with an air of mystery and esotericism most alluring to inquisitive and restless minds. Platonism was with Pletho a cult, explained and interpreted by Plotinus, in short, a form of Neo-Platonism. His more heterodox views he imparted cautiously and stealthily to a few chosen pupils but it seems clear that he hoped ultimately to base upon them a new and popular religion. "I heard him at Florence", says an acquaintance, "when he came to the council of the Greeks, declaring that within a few years one single religion would be accepted heartily and unanimously by the whole world. When I asked him whether that would be Christianity or Mohammedanism, he replied, 'Neither, but something very like paganism.'"¹⁴

Marsiglio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, the lights of the later Florentine academy, were loyal churchmen but they also coupled Plotinus with Plato and then, for lack of any logical method

¹⁴ Schultze, *Georgios Gemistos Plethon*, p. 77, note 3.

of reconciling both with the Scriptures, had recourse to a feeble and confused kind of allegory. Marsiglio Ficino, having finished his translation of the works of Plato, writes to an acquaintance, "In the next place, that eyes might not be dazzled by the sight of this new luminary, I have composed a sort of commentary in eighteen books, in which to the best of my ability I explain the Platonic mysteries, paying more regard to meaning than to exact wording. Thus I remove the poetic veil and show that everywhere the thoughts of Plato are in accord with the divine law. I believe I am not mistaken in saying that Providence has decreed that certain keen intellects, who pay reluctant obedience to the unsupported authority of divine law, will yield now that the reasoning of Plato is brought to the aid of religion."¹⁵ Ancient deities were explained sometimes as types of the angels, again as the souls of the heavens and the planets or as the soul of the world as it moves and generates. The story of creation in the book of Genesis was by main force interpreted to agree with the Neo-Platonic theory of the evolution of the universe. Anything became a symbol or emblem of any other thing and assumed any significance one chose to give it. No serious, consistent system of philosophy was constructed, as had been done by the schoolmen of the thirteenth century upon the foundation of Aristotle. The age did not call for sustained mental labor over abstract problems but was for the most part content to accept the somewhat flimsy and optimistic idealism which came into vogue and which verged usually either on the fantastic or on the mystical or sentimental. The basis for it all, as far as it had a basis in the past, was Roman and Alexandrian rather than Platonic.

Thus even in philosophy the influences from antiquity which helped to shape fifteenth-century thought were derived more directly from the Empire than from Hellas. A knowledge of the Greek tongue remained in the main an accomplishment for professional men of letters, elegant and to that degree desirable. Through the recommendations of Quintilian the study of Greek was introduced into two or three of the best Italian schools and the argument was brought forward that one could understand and appreciate the Latin tongue far better by the help of some knowledge of Greek.¹⁶ But there was no serious effort to determine the Greek point

¹⁵ Marsiglio Ficino, *Opera* (Basle, 1561), vol. I., p. 855. Compare Pico della Mirandola, *Heptaplus*, *passim*.

¹⁶ For an exceptionally advanced opinion on the value of Greek, see Battista Guarino, *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi*, in Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre*, pp. 166-167.

of view, which was supposed as a matter of course to have been the same as the Roman, nor to utilize Greek literature save as a storehouse of pedantic quotations and ethical examples. The practical value of Greek in exposing errors of Scriptural interpretation and in waging theological controversy was realized only after the knowledge of it had been carried into northern Europe. Such writing as was produced in Italy, comparable at all in straightforward originality and acumen to the Greek, was prompted by the stress and stir of contemporary life and except in surface embellishments shows little effect of the Greek Renaissance.

LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS.

JOHN KNOX AS A MAN OF THE WORLD

“WHILE to their life-work Norsemen set out,
Will-lessly wavering, daunted with doubt,
While hearts are shrunken, minds helplessly shivering,
Weak as a willow-wand, wind-swept and quivering,
While about one thing alone they're united,
Namely that greatness be stoned and despited,—
While they seek honour in fleeting and falling,
Then Bishop Nicholas toils in his calling.”

Such an one, toiling, encouraging and energizing, was John Knox; he takes his place as one of those pestilent fellows who disturb their comfort-loving fellow-men with their “Woe unto them that are at ease in Zion!” He stands alongside of masterless and masterful leaders like Hildebrand, or Oliver Cromwell, or John Brown—elemental forces, unpredictable, unaccountable and beyond analysis. John Knox not only lived and was a part of his country's ecclesiastical history, he was also a man who had great purposes in his mind; and that world which he despised, contemned, brow-beat and over-awed, after all held him, enveloped him and conditioned him. Is it not possible to separate out what distinguishes him as a man among men, to see what were his methods of appealing to his kind, and how he looked upon society and the state? For such a purpose we should in succession notice Knox's personality; his literary methods and achievements: his work as a destructive statesman, overturning an older order of things; and his place as a constructive statesman, establishing a new dispensation. For such a survey the obvious materials are John Knox's own works, and from those six bulky volumes is drawn most of what is here written on John Knox as a Man of the World.

I.

Among the many curious things in the life of John Knox not the least is that out of his sixty-seven years, nearly forty-two are buried in as much obscurity as the personal life of his contemporary, William Shakespeare. Of those years we know only three facts: he sprang from a humble family, an origin which stood

much in his way when he became associated with arrogant nobles; he was a student at a university and there he learned the art of controversy; he was in priest's orders and thus always understood the assailable side of the clergy. It seems that he made absolutely no impression on the world until he began his reform work in 1547.

Yet this obscure priest, hardly known except to the fathers of the boys whom he had tutored, became a genuine cosmopolite: a galley-slave in France; royal preacher in England; minister in Frankfort, in Geneva and in Dieppe; charged with treason to the emperor; hated by Queen Elizabeth; yet the associate of the national leaders in Scotland, the friend of the greatest living reformers and a genuine international force. All these influences helped to mould him, yet all of them left him essentially a Scotchman, rude, vigorous, tenacious, unsympathetic and powerful. His relations with courts made him the sturdier champion of the people; his knowledge of tongues and literatures lent sharpness to his words; he was a man of the whole world, yet none the less a citizen of his own country.

Early in his life Knox attracted the attention and the respect of some powerful men: from the great Major he learned his scholastic reasoning; Wishart, the reformer, he loved and for him he would have died; Balnaves was his close friend; both Somerset and Northumberland, successively patrons of the king of England, liked and advanced him; he took the advice of Bullinger, or rather asked it and then followed his own mind; he was the personal friend of Calvin. Nevertheless it must be owned that he never won the enduring personal affection of any other Scottish reformer or potentate. There was no Melancthon for his Luthership, and in his last days his servant Bannatyne seems to have been the only familiar of his house.

Yet after all Knox did have one class of warmly attached and faithful friends: throughout his life women were attracted by him and sought his friendship; Mrs. Bowes of Berwick, whose daughter he married, Mrs. Locke and Mrs. Hickman, "Merchandis wyffis in Londoun", hung upon his words as the breath of life. Mrs. Elizabeth Barron, he says, "Be reasson that she had a trubled conscience, deltyed much in the company of the said Johne, becaus that he, according to the grace gevin unto him, opened more fullie the fontane of Goddis mercyes, then did the commoun sorte of teachearis that she had hard befor."

To Mrs. Bowes, his wife's mother, and Mrs. Locke he wrote

many letters, chiefly devoted to general spiritual counsel, with a sprinkling of news and no personal color. To the one queen of his personal acquaintance, he was conspicuously ungallant; and, on one occasion when he was waiting her pleasure in the anteroom, he took the opportunity to draw the ladies in waiting together and to fix their attention upon "that knave Death, that will come whither we will or not! And when he has laid on his areist, the foull wormes wilbe busye with this flesche, be it never so fayr and so tender." He married twice, both times with young women, but in all his extant writings and letters there is scarce an allusion to either of these spouses, except a reference shortly after his first marriage to "daylie trubles occuring as weill in my domesticall charge, whair-with befor I haif not bene accustomit". As for his children his only reference to them seems to be in an interview with Queen Mary when he said "I can skarslie weill abyd the tearis of my awin boyes whome my awin hand correctis."

Knox had an unusual facility of alienating his friends. Full of professional pride in his prophetic office, he loved to warn great men of their delinquencies; doubtless he would have thought himself lacking in Christian duty if, when writing to Cecil whom he highly respected and whose good will he was anxious to have, he had omitted to say to him, "For to the suppressing of Christis trew Evangell, to the erecting of idolatrie; and to the schedding of the blood of Goddis most deare childrein have you, by silence, consented and subscryvit." Cecil apparently accepted this as the small change of correspondence, but not so all of Knox's friends and adherents. The mighty Earl of Arran disliked it when Knox compared him unfavorably with Jehosophat who "Keipit not himself (said he) inclosed in his chalmer, but frequented the multitude". After the marriage of Lord James Stewart, earl of Mar, the preacher said to him in public, "Unto this day the Kirk of God hath received comfort by you, and by your laubouris; in the which, yf heirafter ye shalbe found faynter then that ye war befor, it wilbe said that your Wyeff hath changed your nature." No wonder that relations between the two were so strained that "The said Johne by his letter, gave a discharge to the said Erle of all further intro-missioun or cayr with his effaires." Indeed the great reformer came to the point where he spared nobody, and did not hesitate to explain a crisis in the Reformation, "because that suddandlie the most parte of us declyned from the puritie of Goddis word, and began to follow the world; and so agane to schaik handis with the Devil, and with idolatrie".

If Knox hammered his friends he flayed his enemies, of whom he had a numerous and choice assortment. With them his process was simple; none of your gradations for him, none of your hair-splitting distinctions between Beelzebub and the Bishop of St. Andrews. For instance, he so hated the powerful Hamilton family, which did not permit a plebeian to outdo it in hearty curses, that Archibald Hamilton actually refused to go to church and hear his family called murderers. To Knox, James V. was "that blynded and most vitious man, the Prince". Of Mary Tudor he said, "For after him was rased up, in Goddis hote displeasure, that idolatress Jesabel, mischevous Marie, of the Spanyardis blodde; a cruel persectrix of Goddis people, as the actes of hir unhappy regne can sufficiently witenesse." Mary, Queen of Scots, he came to hate with the ferocity which most men would save for a Lucretia Borgia; and after her marriage with Darnley, he publicly said, "And how did Ahab visite God againe for his great benefit received? Did he remove his idolatrie? did he correct his idolatrous wife Jezabel? . . . But what was the ende hereof? The last visitation of God was, that dogges licked the blood of the one, and did eate the flesh of the other."

Besides these personal and pet abhorrences, he had a comprehensive ill opinion of all Catholics. "In the name of the Lorde Jesus", he wrote in 1559, "I require of you, that no dumme dogg, no poisoned and pestilent Papist, none who before hath persecuted God's children, or obstinately mainteined idolatrie, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poison." And for those who persisted in going to mass he made the cruel decree, "Yea, that the same man or men, that go aboute to destroy God's true religion once established, and to erect idolatrie, which God detesteth, be adjudged to death, according to God's commandment."

Toward the end of his life, these seeds of hatred bore an abundant fruit, and several efforts were made to silence him. He was once driven out of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy of Grange, enraged because Knox, "in his sermon openlie called me a murtherer and a throat cutter", appealed to the Assembly and getting no satisfaction, rumor had it that he "hes sworne him enemie to John Knox, and will slay him". This led to a rallying of Knox's friends who served notice on Kirkaldy of Grange that "the death and lyfe of that our said brother is to us so pretious and deir, as is our owin lyves and deathis". Knox was once summoned before the Council and once before the Church. In his very last hours, Knox gave an extraordinary example of his abilities of resentment. Maitland of

Lethington, secretary to the Session, and once as nearly a friend as Knox ever made in Scotland, protested because Knox from the pulpit called him an atheist; whereupon the grizzled old lion sent him word, "that Johne Knox remainis the same man, now going to die, that ever he has hard him defoir, quhen he was able of body, and that gif he repentit not, the threateningis be him pronounced sould fall upoun him and that house!"

II.

"King Harry loved a man", and the world loves a fighter. Whatever the unlovable side of John Knox, when the battle of the Scotch Reformation surged, there he was dealing terrific blows with the two weapons in which he had unrivalled skill among his compeers, his pen and his tongue. Measured by the standards of any time he was a strong writer and a stronger speaker. The only time when he ever seems to have distrusted his powers was when he asked the consent of her unwilling relatives to a marriage with Marjorie Bowes. He said of this episode: "God knawis, I did use no rethorick nor collourit speach; but wald haif spokin the treuth, and that in maist simpill maner. I am not a gud oratour in my own caus." To judge from his controversial writings, he knew an infinitude of ancient and patristic writers and statesmen, whose names he rolls under his tongue like a sweet morsel. Joseph, Pharas, Abselom, Moyses, Salamaneser, Nebucadnelzar, Darius, Cyrus, he drives together in the same pamphlet like a flock of sheep. Prophets, priests and kings are marshalled to defend his position, and he is not sparing of his allusions to Kora and Ahab and the rest of the disobedient whose fate pointed such a moral for his countrymen. The Old Testament certainly furnishes a most satisfactory set of unfavorable prognostications for a skilful expounder of a nation's faults. Of the God of the old dispensation, Knox had a conception worthy of Jonathan Edwards—"Ye ought, I say, to be most assuredly persuaded, that the lamentable voices of all these have so beaten the ears of our God, and that the tears, which in anguishe they powred forthe, have so replenished and fylde the bottel which hangeth continually in the eies of the Almightye, that he hath sworne by his owne holynes, that he wil arise in his hote fury, that he will revenge their cause (and that speedely)."

Of languages he knew several, Latin of course, for that was the vernacular of the universities; German very likely, for he lived in Frankfort; French undoubtedly for he spent years in France and Geneva; Greek and Hebrew he attacked after he became a Protes-

tant. With few exceptions, however, all his writings are in English and although its quaint spelling makes it seem uncanny, it had as good a right to be considered standard English in his time as the court dialect of Westminster. Knox's style is one of his just claims to greatness, pungent, direct, and free from those meanders and double hard knots which make the writings of Sir John Eliot or Cotton Mather such a tax upon the reader.

Will you sample Knox's cruet, in which you will find vinegar, pepper, biting mustard and clear vitriol? Take for instance his defiance of Rome: "We are not sent by that Romane Antichriste, whome he calleth Pope, nor yet from his carnal Cardinales, nor dum-horned Bischoppes." Or this letter to Mrs. Locke on the anguish of the Reformation struggle, "For one day of troubles, since my last arrivall in Scotland, hath more pierced my heart than all the torments of the galeyes did the space of 19 moneths; for that torment, for the most part, did tuiche the bodie, but this pearces the soule and inward affectiouns." Or this fine assertion of the power of mind over circumstances, "For this bodie lying in maist panefull handis, amangis the middis of cruell tyrantis, his mercie and gudnes provydit that the hand suld wryt, and beir witness to the confessioun of the heart more aboundantlie than ever yet the tounge spoke."

Knox's literary gifts showed themselves in a considerable variety of publications. Leaving out of account for the moment the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* and the *History of the Reformation*, his most important writings include a series of addresses, letters and appeals, which are to the Scotch Reformation what Luther's *Letter to the Christian German Nobility* was, a successful effort to arouse the nation to a sense of the real nature of the conflict with Rome. Such were his *Letters to the Queen Regent in 1555*, his *Appellation to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland in 1558*, his *Godlie Letter to the Faithful in London*, his *Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England* and his manifestoes *To the French Soldiers* and *To the Scottish Clergy*. This, however, was only a part of his literary activity, for in the first stages of the Reformation, as secretary to the Congregation, he drafted many of their papers, even including the Treaty of Berwick with England in 1560; and he had an important part in the *Confession of Faith* and the *Book of Discipline*, which were an official summary of the results of the Revolution. Nothing but an actual reading of these papers can convey an adequate impression of their vigor, the directness of their address to the

questions which they discuss; and the William Lloyd Garrison-like disregard of any point of view but that of the instant reformer.

Far and away the most renowned of Knox's writings is his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, which was printed in 1558. It is a powerful, reckless and unscrupulous attack upon the title of Mary Tudor, with absolute disregard of the easily predictable effects upon himself and mankind. The succession of Elizabeth to the throne a few months later put the champion of Protestantism into the highly unpleasant position of attacking the title of the leading Protestant sovereign of Europe. Here was the opportunity to admit an error; but in a letter to Elizabeth intended to placate her, the most courteous phrase that he could think of was, "But if, these premisses (as God forbid) neglected, yee shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authoritie upone your owne law, flatter who so list, your felicitie shalbe short. Interpret my rude words in the best part, as written by him who is no enemie to your Grace." He would not even take advantage of the admission in his *First Blast* that there might be exceptions, and to the day of Knox's death, Elizabeth disliked him and would have none of his intervention that she could help; and instead of being the bond of connection between the Court of England and the Reformers in Scotland, it soon became evident that he stood in the way. Yet ten years later he still stoutly maintained, "Because I have the testimonie of a good conscience, that in writing that Treatise, against which so manie worldlie men have stormed, and yitt storme, I nather sought myself nor worldlie promotion; and because, as yet, I have neither heard nor seene law nor Scripture to overthrow my grounds."

Vastly more important to literature and to the history of the times is Knox's *History of the Reformation of the Religioun within the Realme of Scotland*. The purpose of this work is set forth in the preface, "It was concluded, that faythfull rehersall should be maid of such persnages as God had maide instrumentis of his glorie, by oppenyng of thame selfis to manifest abuses, superstition, and idolatrie; and, albeit thare be no great number, yet ar thei mo then the Collectour wold have looked for at the begynnyng." Among the personages of the book whom God made instruments of his glory, the writer leaves no doubt as to who was the chief; for the *History of the Reformation* is essentially an autobiographical fragment. Dr. Johnson said of his version of the debates of Parliament that "He took care that the Whig dogs did not have the best of it"; and John Knox had an unrivalled op-

portunity to make clear the significance of John Knox in the Scotch Reformation.

Numerous documents and statements are introduced into Knox's text, and his undoubtedly highly trained memory for the exact words of an author or of a conversation enables him to put on record most precious evidences as to the inner workings of the Reformation, though often there is no sufficient material for checking up either the memory of the writer or his evident propensity to believe anything that was to the discredit of his enemies. Yet it is a striking fact that if the manuscript of the *History* had perished before it was committed to print Knox would, outside of his theological work, be little better known to posterity than the Dr. Pryne who preached against Queen Henrietta Maria and lost his ears in consequence. For Knox's genius lay in his public utterances, of which almost none are preserved outside of his own writings. Furthermore, at the very beginning Knox laid down the principle: "With the Pollicey, mynd we to meddill no further than it hath Religioun mixed with it." And the *History* lays curiously little weight on details of governmental organization and public opinion, which seemed to Knox subordinate.

Beside his formal works Knox employed throughout his public life the method of writing letters, and he had a strong and effective epistolary style. Many of these letters were, quite in the modern method, sent to the press almost before they had reached the person to whom they were directed. An excellent example is the letter to the Queen Regent in 1555, which she not inaptly called a "pasquil", and which Knox subsequently republished with additions and elaborate scriptural side-references. He begins with a benediction, writes with more geniality than was common to him, but soon comes to his infallible conclusion: "Oneles in your regiment and using of power, your Grace be founde different from the multitude of Princes and head rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye are placed shall be your dejection to torment and payn everlasting."

In another literary field also, Knox showed distinct aptitude and success; this was in the disputations which were so common in Reformation times and which gave such excellent opportunity for a strong and ready mind like Knox's, who loved controversy and excelled in dialectics. The arguments in several of these disputations have been preserved for us by Knox, especially that of 1547, early in the struggle, with the superior of St. Andrews; in 1561 with Anderson and Leslie; and in 1562, the most elaborate and important of all, with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Of

course in all these jousts, the true knight unhorses his adversary; for what purpose else did John Knox live in the world but to beat down his opponents? "I shall prove plainlye", said one of his opponents, "that Ceremonies are ordeyned by God." To which Knox instantly replied, "Such as God hes ordeyned we allow, and with reverence we use thame. But the questions is of those that God hes not ordeyned, such as in Baptisme, candill, oyle, and the rest of the Papisticall inventionis."

His debate with Kennedy is delightfully rugged. The reasonings of both sides seem to the layman to be distinctly scholastic, Knox appealing not so much to principles as to proof-texts. At last his opponent summoned as a witness Melchisedec and when Knox showed that the passage to which he referred did not bear him out, Quintin's only answer was, "Preve that." This somewhat technical victory of Knox, in accordance with the laws of the game, seems to have made a great impression upon the auditors.

Truly, every day of Knox's later life was a day of disputation, for he needed no abbot nor fellow-Protestant to stand up and argue against; in every sermon and every address he was slaying dragons by attacking the arguments of those opposed to him. It was as a sermonizer that Knox accomplished most of his results; and notwithstanding his theological works, which undoubtedly are the part of his activity which most affected the world at large, in Scotland his status was that of the bold and terrifying preacher. He began his public life in a sermon to the castellans of St. Andrews, and contemporary testimony tells us of the effect of his preaching. "In the opening upe of his text he was moderat the space of an halff houre; bot when he enterit to application he maid me sa to grow and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt." And when Knox was an old man a hearer wrote, "Or he haid done with his sermon he was sa active and vigorus, that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads and flie out of it."

Knox preached several times a week for twenty-three years; first, regularly at the castle of St. Andrews; then, in Berwick and in England, as a royal chaplain of Edward VI.; then, at Frankfort and Geneva; then, at the tolbooth in Edinburgh in 1559: from his designation in 1560 as one of the two ministers of St. Giles Church, Edinburgh, he remained to the end of his life in that pulpit.

Yet out of his thousands of sermons only three or four have been preserved in full; among them the famous discourse preached in St. Giles Church, August 19, 1565, "For the which the said John Knoxe was inhibite preaching for a season". And no wonder,

for upon the text, "O Lorde, our God, other lords beside ye have ruled us", he scored and assailed Darnley, titular king of Scotland, then and there present. He takes as his subject nine successive verses from the twenty-sixth chapter of Isaiah. The mixture of Bible history, general admonition and application to the conditions of Scotland is lively and effective, and he manages to bring in Moses, Aaron, Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, David, Abraham, Jeroboam, Ezekiel, Solomon, the Babylonians, Turks and Saracens, Daniel, "Sydrack, Misacke and Abednego", Darius, Satan, Zacharias, Ahab, Jezebel, Adam, Paul, Althasius, Julian, as coadjutors and witnesses. No wonder that after such a bombardment Darnley "was so moved at this sermon, that he would not dine; and being troubled with great furie, he passed in the afternoon to the hawking".

It was of course the regular duty of every Puritan parson to lecture the potentate who sat below him. Tradition has it that Oliver Cromwell once was obliged to listen to a long discourse dealing plainly with his shortcomings, and that the only indication that he was pricked was an invitation to the minister to dine with him, at which solemn function another minister was asked to say grace; the grace was three hours long; the Protector had already had his dinner. Even Knox was obliged to observe that Huntley was accustomed to "Pyck his naillis and pull down his bonet ower his eyis, when idolatrie, witchcraft, murther, oppressioun and such vices war rebuked. Was not his common talk, When the knaiffis have railled thair fill, then will thei hald thair peace?"

Knox's pulpit was to him his professor's chair, his bishop's throne, his advocate's brief, his journalist's editorial page and his judge's decision. There must have been a tremendous personal force which went with the clear-cut and intense sentences which he hurled at his enemies; for the written words do not account for his political influence. What was that force?

In the first place Knox made his sermons a means of instruction; he says of his first sermon at St. Andrews, "The people hearing the offer, cryed with one consent, 'We can not all read your writtingis, butt we may all hear your preaching; Tharfore we requyre you, in the name of God, that ye will lett us year the probatioun of that which ye have affirmed; for yf it be trew, we have bene miserable deceived.'" The pulpit was the great popular educator of the time, and Knox was a great schoolmaster.

In the next place, Knox, to the fullest degree, enjoyed his opportunity to expound the wrath of God, alike against enemies

of the true faith and members of the household of God who failed to do their duty, "O Papistis! whair sall ye hyd yow frome the presence of the Lord? Ye haif pervertit his Law, ye haif takin away his Ordinances, ye haif placit up your awn Statutis instead of his: Wo and dampnatioun abydeth you." But equally to the faithful in London he says, "For gif the messingeris of the Lord that salbe sent to execute his wraith and vengeance sall find you amang ydolateris, your bodeis committing lyke abominationis with thame, ye haif no warrand that ye sall eschape the plagues prepareit for the wickit." The warp and woof of Knox's sermons however is idolatry, by which he means the mass. For instance, "All wirschipping, honoring, or service of God inventit be the braine of man, in the religion of God, without his awn express commandment, is Idolatrie." Hence, not only those who officiated, but those who attended mass were idolaters. Hence those who associate with and countenance adherents of the mass make themselves idolaters and "bound slaves to the Devill". To the logical inquiry, "What then? Sall we go and slay all ydolateris?" Knox skilfully answers, "That wer the office, deir Brethren, of everie Civill Magistrate within his realme. But of yow is requyreit onlie to avoyd participatioun and company of thair abominationis, as well in bodie as in saule." The evil effect of such fierce and vehement utterances upon an already excited congregation can be imagined.

There were not wanting critics of Knox's own party who in private protested against his violence. Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote to his court, "Our preacher, to be playne with your honour, at one worde, more vehement then descryte or lerned, which I hartily lament. . . . Who, upon Sondays laste, gave the Crosse and the Candle such a wype, that as wyse and lerned as mym selfe wysshed hym to have hylde his peace. He recompenced the same with a marvelous, vehements, and persinge prayer, in th' ende of his sermond." And Maitland of Lethington said, "You know the vehemence off Knox spiret, which cannot be bryddled; and that doth sometymes uter soche sentences as can not easaly be dygested by a weake stomach."

Yet to his very last days, when he had to be helped into the pulpit by friends and his voice could only reach a handful of auditors, he continued his preaching, and even on his death-bed sermonized a lady who desired him to praise God for what he had been to Scotland, "Tounge! tounge! ladie; flesche of itself is overproud, and neidis no meanis to esteame the self!" One of his last utterances was "Lord grant trew pastoris to thy Kirke, that puritie of doctrine may be reteaned."

Knox's biographer, Hume Brown, insists that he had a sense of humor, but a search of his works reveals little of that natural apprehension of the incongruous which so marked Luther. Plenty of humor can indeed be found in his works, but it is mostly ill humor. Thus he says of the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Darnley, that it is a "Marrage of that wicked woman upon the man whom I wish a better lucke". Of two of his enemies, he says in his history, "The Cardinall was knowin proude; and Dumbare, Archbischope of Glasgo, and knowin a glorious foole, and yitt, becaus sometymes he was called the Kingis Maister, he was Chancelour of Scotland." He politely alludes to an Abbey Church as "The Kirk of the Black theivis alias Freiris". Almost the only humorous story in Knox's works is at his own expense. When he threatened to preach at St. Andrews the bishop sent him a message, "That in case John Knox presented him selff to the preaching place, in his town and principall Churche, he should gar him be saluted with a dosane of culveringis, querof the most parte should lyght upoun his nose."

III.

Knox's writings and his sermons were only a means to an end, that end being the building up of a Protestant church and community in Scotland; but in that process there were two very distinct parts. Before a new commonwealth could be created the old one must be destroyed, and it was that process of destruction to which the bent of Knox's mind was naturally directed. From Knox's entry on his reformation work in 1547 to his final return to Edinburgh in 1559, he was an exile and had very little direct influence upon the course of events; from 1559 to 1561 the Reformation was accomplished, with Knox among the leaders; in 1561 Mary, Queen of Scots, came over to her kingdom, and in 1567 was virtually deposed by her people. Here then was both a religious and a political revolution, in which Knox was a great figure. How far did he determine the policy of his countrymen and how far was his policy wise?

When Knox came back to Scotland in 1559 it was with the openly expressed purpose of bringing about what could be nothing less than a revolution, and he was proclaimed as a desperate and dangerous man. In his *Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland* he says, "We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your soules, and by manifest Scriptures to prove that Religion, which amongst you is mentained by fier and sworde, to be vaine, fals,

and diabolical. . . . And last we require, that by your power the tyrannie of those cruel beastes (I mean of Preests and Freers) may be brided, till we have uttered our mindes in all matters this day debateable in Religion." Yet it is remarkable that Knox had throughout the eight years of strife almost no public employment (other than his office as one of the two ministers of St. Giles). For a short time he was indeed secretary of Congregation and designated as agent to England, but after less than six months' service as secretary he withdrew, professing to rejoice "that God hath delivered me from the most part of these civill effares, for now are men of better judgment and greater experience occupied in these matters". Nevertheless, he was a member of various important bodies and commissions, which drew up the *Confession of Faith*, the *Book of Discipline* and other state papers; and he was also commissioned to write that account of the Congregation which ultimately expanded into his history of the Reformation; but his service was always that of counsellor and agitator, and not of executor.

The son of a university, a priest in orders, one would expect Knox to be saturated with a sense of the beauty of the churches and abbeys, and the refining influence of the glorious Scottish architecture upon the people; nevertheless, he forthwith unchained a wild beast which he had neither power nor will to curb. It was not an accident that his sermon of May, 1559, in Perth was almost immediately followed by the gutting of the church by a mob. A few days later, Knox records, "the Abbay of Lindores, a place of blacke monkes, was reformed, their altars overthrowne, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and masse bookes, were burnt in their owne presence, and they commaunded to cast away their monkish [habits]." Though he occasionally alludes to efforts to prevent the absolute destruction of the churches, he gives it as his opinion that the "best way to keep the rooks from returning was to pull down their nests".

Toward the old clergy, Knox's attitude was always that of the bitterest and most uncompromising hostility. In the *Supplication* of 1560 he says, "Thair is not ane lauchfull minister, gif Godis word, the practise of the Apostillis, and thair awin ancient Dawis, sall judge of lauchfull electioun. We farther offer oure selfis to prove thame all thevis and murtheris, yea, rebellis and tratouris to the lauchfull autoritie of Empriouris, Kyngis, and Prencis; and thairfor unworthy to be sufferrit in any Reformeit Commonwealth." Knox's rigid aversion to toleration found voice in the *Book of*

Discipline of 1560, which plainly declares: "That all doctrine repugnyng to the same be utterlie suppressed as damnabill to mannish salvioun", and "That the obstinat mayntenaris and teachearis of suche abhominationis aucht not to eschape the punyschement of the Civile Magistrat". And he faces the ultimate logic of his argument against "alsweill the manifest dispysar as the prophanare of the sacramentis. . . . We dare not prescribe unto you what penalties shalbe required of suche: But this we fear not to affirm, that the ane and the other deserve death."

With such general views on the character and faith of the Catholics were conjoined very strict notions as to the obligation of the rulers—that is, of the Queen Regent and of her daughter, Queen Mary—to establish Protestantism. Thus in his *Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland*, Knox says, "Althoghe ye be but subiectes, ye may lawfully require of your superiours, be it of your King, be it of your Lordes, rulers and powers, that they provide for you true Preachers. . . . And if in this point your superiours be negligent, or yet pretend to maintaine tyrantes in their tyrannie, most justly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves."

From the theory of obligation on the rulers it was a short step to the right of the subjects to compel the sovereign to act within the constitution. As far back as 1554 Knox put some significant queries to Bullinger on the governmental rights of an infant prince, of a woman, of an "idolatrour Sovereign", of "a Magistrate who enforces Idolatry and Condemns true religion". And in his letter to the Queen Regent of 1558, he says, "That all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration which the foolish multitude so estemeth, nether yet is everie tumult and breach of publicke order contrarie to Goddes commandement".

From such premises it was an easy and speedy road to the doctrine that idolatrous princes might be deposed, and Knox urged with all his might the removal of the Queen Regent and still more of Mary, Queen of Scots. For such desired ends the preacher was not altogether unwilling to use bad means. In 1559 he asked Cecil to send a thousand men to fight the French, notwithstanding the peaceful relations between France and England. "For it is free for your subjects to serve in warr ane prence or nation for thare wages. And yf ye fear that such excesses shall not prevaile, you may declayr thame rebellis to your Realme when ye shalbe assured that thei be in our companie." Even less allowable means were not beyond Knox's conscience. Upon the

assassination of Cardinal Beaton in 1546, his comment is: "We wold, that the Reader should observe Goddis just judgementis, and how that he can deprehend the worldly wyse in thare awin wisdom." And on the killing of Rizzio, Knox said, "And let the world understand in plane termes what we meane, the great abusar of this commoun wealth, that pultron and vyle knave Davie, was justlie punished."

It was not in the nature of Knox to understand that "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword", that murder and brute force may destroy, but cannot build up; still less was it in his nature to understand or to harmonize with Mary, Queen of Scots. The most dramatic episode in Knox's life, and the turning point in Mary's was a series of five conferences between August 26, 1561, and May, 1563. Since our knowledge of these interviews is almost wholly derived from Knox's own record in his own history, one naturally feels interested to know "how the lion would have painted it"; unwritten circumstances, tones and gestures do much to alter even an accurate report of a personal interview. Nevertheless there seems little reason to doubt that what Knox set down as his language and Mary's was substantially the language used. Contrary to the general impression, a reading of this record reveals a John Knox at first moved by a strong traditional sense of personal loyalty and by the graces of the most fascinating woman of her time; and he was genuinely anxious to find some common ground if possible. Indeed Knox later owns that "so cairfull was I of that common tranquillitie, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I conceived a good opinioun, that in secreat conference with earnest and zealous men, I travaled rather to mitigat, yea, to slokin, that fervencye that God had kyndled in otheris, than to animat or encourage thame to put thair hands to the Lordis work; Whairintill I unfeanedlie acknowledge my selff to have done most wickedlie."

Hardly had Mary landed in Scotland in 1561 to take possession of her kingdom when mass was celebrated at Holyrood Chapel; for his sermon against it the queen straightway summoned Knox to court. Notwithstanding the studied courtesy of Knox's behavior, he squarely laid down in this first interview the principle which he ever after insisted upon with regard to the authority of a Catholic sovereign, "Think ye, (quod sche) that subjectis having power may resist thair Princes?" "Yf thair Princes exceed thair boundis, (quod he), Madam, and do against that whairfoir they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but thei may be resisted, evin by power."

The second interview, a year and a half later, came about because Knox very offensively preached against the queen's dancing; she called for him and charged him with "travailling to bring hir in haitterent and contempt of the people, and that he had exceaded the boundis of his text". In courtesy and in argument, the queen had the best of it, and she even took him on his own ground by asking him why he did not come privately to admonish her of anything that he thought amiss. Knox revealed his essential lack of breeding by saying, "For albeit at your Grace's commaundment I am here now, yitt can not I tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this tyme of day am absent from my book and wayting upoun the Courte." To which the queen replied with just resentment, "You will not alwais be at your book", and so turned her back.

Four months later came a third interview, in which Mary attempted to persuade Knox to prevent the arrest and punishment of certain priests for celebrating mass. She spoke him fair, she even sent for him next day, treated him with confidence and promised to give up her point, but Knox's heart was all the more hardened; as Randolph reported to the English court, "He is so full of mistrust in all her doynges, wordes, and sayengs, as thoughe he wer eyther of God's privie conell, that knowe howe he had determined of her from the begninge, or that he knewe the secretes of her harte so well, that nether she dyd or culde have for ever one good thought of God or of his trewe religion"; and Maitland of Lethington said, "I wolde wishe he shoulde deale with her more gently, being a young Princess onpersuaded."

In his capacity as censor of the kingdom Knox now proceeded to lay down the law as to the queen's marriage. It was of the first importance to Protestant Scotland that Mary should not ally herself with any Catholic sovereign, yet when Knox threatened, "Goddis vengeance upoun the countrey" if she should marry, "ane infidell (and all Papists are infidellis)", she sent for him in an agitation of spirit which led her to what Knox very ungallantly called "owling, besydes womanlie weaping". The masculine mind cannot forbear a tribute of admiration for the one man in history who was unmoved by the tears of a beautiful young queen; yet who can help feeling some sympathy with the queen in her demand, "What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what ar ye within this Commonwealth?" "A subject borne within the same, Madam," was Knox's reply, "And albeit I neather be Erle, Lord,

nor Barroun within it, yitt hes God maid me, (how abject that ever I be in your eyes,) a profitable member within the same."

When, three years later, Mary fell into depths of degradation and misery, the fierceness of Knox's hatred blazed up afresh. The English ambassador reported that, "He dothe continewe hys seveare exhortations as well against the Quene as agaynst Bodwell; thretynge the grete plage of God to thys wholle countrey and nayton yf she be spared from her condigne ponyshement." Still later when Mary was a prisoner and a fugitive in England, in his prayer on the assassination of the regent, Earl of Murray, Knox complimented the Almighty that, "Thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the Divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him, this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevaill in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been executed upon her, and upon her complices, the murth-erers of her husband."

It was impossible for Mary, Queen of Scots, and John Knox to agree, for her purpose was to restore the Catholic Church, and Knox's was completely and forever to destroy it; yet what sovereign of an ancient and stately house could brook the personal public criticism which Knox saw fit to use? But it was a losing battle for her: the Queen of Scotland had to learn the bitter meaning of the proverb: "If the rock fall on the pitcher, woe to the pitcher! and if the pitcher fall on the rock, woe to the pitcher!"

IV.

All three of the other great leaders of the Reformation, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin set themselves with greater or less success to the building up of a new political and ecclesiastical order on the ruins of the old, and Calvin laid down principles on the relations of church and state which still powerfully affect the Protestant Christian world. At the beginning of his career Knox also seemed destined to become a great political leader; his friends said that "Jhonne Knox had foirwarned us, by his letteris from Geneva, of all dangeris that he foirsaw [to] ensew on our enterpryse." At that time he was eager to go to England, and came near resuming his residence in a kingdom where he would have found a very different kind of queen in the valiant Elizabeth.

Fortunately for Scotland Elizabeth would none of him, but he remained a strong partizan of alliance between the Scottish Protestants and England; was the medium of letters to Cecil in behalf of the Lords of the Congregation, and actually crossed the

border as an accredited envoy; but the warden of the East Marshes, under a superior influence which may easily be divined, wrote dryly, "I think it not expedient, that in such raritie of preachearis, ye two be ony long tyme absent from the Lordis." Except for one transient visit in 1567 Knox never again set foot in England, but he remained in correspondence with some of the English statesmen and appears to have had regular political intelligence from France, Flanders and other parts of Europe; he even had some secret correspondence with a representative of Catherine de' Medici. After 1561 however he had little influence and no authority in foreign relations, although it is evident that he desired to be consulted and to be employed in such matters.

Familiar as Knox was with principalities and powers throughout history he had no interest in, and little knowledge of, government as a function of the man of the world. Zwingli was distinctly a democrat and Luther a champion of the vested rights of princes; Knox was neither. In the two passages upon human rights which have come to the writer's attention, he says, "For albeit God hath put and ordered distinction and differences betwixt the King and subjects, betwixt the rulers and the commune people, in the regiment and administration of Civile policies, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all equal." The simple truth is that Knox had no theory of government, other than the tradition of royal power, except the principle, absolutely necessary for his purposes, that an "idolatrous", that is a Catholic, sovereign who insisted on the right to attend mass could be deposed.

As has already been seen, Knox had no favorable opinion of most of the sovereigns of his time. We have already seen what was his opinion of the Queen Regent and Queen Mary and how plainly he set forth the right of deposing a sovereign who did not reign according to the will of God. Mary's son, James, was not far from right when he said of Knox, "Hee himselfe and his adherentes were brought in, and well settled, and by these means made strong enough to undertake the matters of Reformation themselves. Then, loe they beganne to make smal account of her Supremacy, nor would longer rest upon her authority, but tooke the cause into their owne hand." Knox's whole teaching was that "Na power on earth is above the power of the Civill reular; that everie saule, be he Pope or Cardinall, aught to be subject to the higher Poweris. That thair commandementis, not repugnyng to Godis glorie and honour, ought to be obeyit, evin with great loss of temporall thingis." This is plainly the doctrine of the subordina-

tion of the church to the civil power, but Knox's system of government was the purest theocracy; above the civil power was the law of God: "Of conscience I am compelled to say, that neyther the consent of people, proces of time, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve." The only remaining detail in this beautifully simple theory of government was who should decide what was the law of God; and upon that point Knox never hesitated: in his own mind he was himself the ultimate tribunal.

A whimsical part of Knox's political theory and not in the least necessary for his ultimate purposes was his habitual disapproval of women. "Nature, I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolishe; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruell, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment." And in his *First Blast* he rings all the changes on the weakness of female princes. "And such be al women, compared unto man in bearing of authoritie. For their sight in civile regiment is but blindness; their strength, weakness; their counsel, foolishnes; and judgment, phrensie, if it be rightly considered. This sentence, I say, did God pronounce against Heva and her daughter as the rest of the scriptures doth evidentlie witness. So that no woman can ever presume to reigne above man, but the same she must needes do in despite of God." And he reaches his climax with this pronouncement: "That rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of Women, shall fall by itself in despit of all man,—to the destruction of so manie as shall labor to uphold it. And therefore let all man be advertised, for THE TRUMPHEHATH ONES BLOWN."

In view of the carefully wrought governmental system of Calvin, it is striking how little attention Knox paid to the civil administration of his own country: he simply accepted as final that combination of weak or desperate rulers with the nobility who were the ruling force in Parliament; and the vague authority of the Assembly, in which the ministers had great weight. Much has been made of the *Book of Discipline*, in which Knox had an important part, as containing principles of government, but they are not to be found there; except for certain offenses, such as drunkenness and other excess in which Knox held that the church should be allowed a penalty, he simply ascribed indefinite power to the magistrates. In his letter to the regent of 1555 he says: "Ye thinke, peradventure, that the care of religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the Bishoppes and Estate Ecclesiastical, as they terme

it; No, no, the negligence of Bishoppes shall no lesse be requyred of the handes of Magistrates because they foster and maintein them in tyranny than shall the oppression of fals judges, which kynoges maintein and defend." He abjures all authority of ecclesiastics to take life for heresy and affirms, "Of the premisses it is evident, that to lawfull powers is geven the sworde for punyshment of malefactors; for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utilitie of theyr subjects." He even by a self-denying ordinance says, "Let none that be appointed to labour in Christes vineyearde be entangled with Civil affaires." In fact, the only question of church authority upon which he seemed strongly to feel was the transfer of the church estates, which he thought ought all to go to the Protestant clergy; and he characteristically expressed his disappointment when the nobles got two-thirds, while of the other third half went to the queen and only half to the ministers. "I see Twa partis freely gevin to the Devill, and the Thrid maun be devided betwix God and the Devill. Weill, bear witnes to me, that this day I say it, or it be long the Devill shall have Three partis of the Thrid."

A large and intelligent interest in education has been ascribed to John Knox because of the articles in the *Book of Discipline* on education. Though he had himself been a teacher and though he probably did sketch the broad scheme of universal national education, the system was not put into operation. He strongly favored the free education of ministers' children in learning "gif thai be found apt therero; and failing thairof that thai be put to some handycraft, or exercised in some verteouse industrie"—perhaps a distant suggestion of industrial training. The school subjects were to be reading, the catechism, the grammar and the Latin tongue. The rich must be compelled to send their children to school, the poor must be aided, and at twenty-four years "The learner most be removed to serve the Church on Commoun-wealth, unless he be fund a neccessarie Reidare in the same Colledge or Universitie." Knox recognizes two other professions besides the ministry, that of the civil servant and of the college teacher. His scheme of education comprised schools, colleges and, "Last, the great Schollis callit Universiteis shalbe repleanischit with those that be apt to learnyng." Throughout the system he recognizes religious instruction as an essential part of the necessary study; and he enforces his plea for schools with a splendid sentence which sounds like the lofty precepts of the fathers of the New England commonwealths, "Not doubting but yf God sall grant quietnes, and gif your

Wisdomes grace to set forward letteris in the sord prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posteritie, and treasure more to be esteemed nor any earthlie treasure ye are able to provide for thame; whiche, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruine and confisoun, than help or comfort."

V.

What shall be our final estimate of John Knox in his public capacity and in his relations to his fellow-men? What is the secret of the pre-eminence of this untitled potentate; this magistrate without the robe of office, this voice so arrogant, so disdainful, yet so persuasive? The solution of this extraordinary character is to be found in two things, of which the first is his own conception of his mission as a prophet. In the *Appellation* of 1556 he says, "My wordes are sharpe, but consider, my Lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatynges of the Omnipotent, who assuredly will performe the voices of the Prophetes." To the proud abbot of Crossraguell he said: "The order of God hath bene in suche publick corruptions, to raise up simple and obscure men, in the beginning of there vocacion, unknowen to the worlds, to rebuke the manifest defection of the people from God." And in his fateful sermon against Darnley he said: "For in the publike place I consulte not with flesh and blood what I shall propone to the people, but as the Spirit of my God who hath sent me, and unto whome I must answers, moveth me, so I speake." This clear conception of a divine mission, this absolute assurance that "God hath revealed unto me secretes unknowne to the worlde; and also that he made my tong a trumpet, to forwarne realmes and nations", accounts for the fierceness, the vindictiveness and the excess of Knox's teachings and influence. A prophet is not sent into the world to attend parish meetings, or to execute the laws against wrongous imprisonment. Knox is like Savonarola, like Ulrich von Hutten, like Whitfield, men sent to arouse the world, leaving to others the task of organizing it.

Then how could such a man maintain himself? The key to his public life of thirteen years in the midst of bitter foes and irritated friends, can only be inferred, and yet the inference is irresistible; Knox's support and his power really came from his position as the spokesman and favorite of the Edinburgh burghers, who were far more powerful even than court or prelates or nobles. The parishioners of St. Giles doubtless were proud of having the fiercest minister in Scotland. John Knox could defy princes,

alienate the Congregation and offend the Assembly, for the same reason that Robespierre could so long hold his own in a hostile convention. The champion of the Edinburgh citizens never knew how to use his great oratorical powers for the uplifting of the commonwealth, or for the development of long policies. He was no man of the world in the sense that he could lay hold of the experiences and combine the service of others. He gave little aid to the political distress of Scotland for he had no plan of relief and apparently no sense of the problem. He had the arrogance as well as the eloquence of the orator; he loved to exalt his own services and his own wisdom. Yet Knox never seems to have used his power for his own personal advantage. He loved his country and according to his lights served her well, and he himself sums up his aims and his successes in a prayer which was the last publication of his life.

“For being drowned in ignorance, thow hes gevin to me knowl-
edge above the common sort of my brethren; my tounge hes thow
usit to set forth thy glorie, to oppung idolatire, errouris, and fals
doctrine. Thow hes compelled me to foirspeak, as well delyver-
aunce to the afflicted, as destruction to certane inobedient; the
performance whereof, not I alone, bot the verray blind world has
alreddy sene.”

His was the spirit of Ibsen's Brand:

“How long the war will last?
As long as life, till ye have cast
All ye possess before the Lord,
And slain the Spirit of Accord;
Until your stiff will bend and bow,
And every coward scruple fall,
Before the bidding,—Nought or all.”

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE FIRST HAYBURN CASE, 1792

THE right of a judicial court to declare void an enactment of the legislature that is repugnant to the instrument of government, from which both legislature and court receive their sanction, has been a subject of perennial interest and continued discussion. In particular, the origin of the right of the Supreme Court of the United States to declare an act of Congress to be invalid because it is contrary to the Federal Constitution has been and still is a mooted question.¹

It will be remembered that the Invalid Pension Act of March 23, 1792, directed the federal circuit courts to receive and sit in judgment upon applications for pensions for disabilities incurred in service in the Revolutionary War. Their decisions were to be submitted to the Secretary of War, and if disapproved by him were to be reported to Congress at their next session. Within two weeks (April 5, 1792), Chief Justice Jay, Associate Justice Cushing and District Judge Duane, in the circuit court for the district of New York, took this act into consideration and formally entered their opinion upon the record:²

"That neither the legislative nor the executive branches can constitutionally assign to the judicial any duties, but such as are properly judicial, and to be performed in a judicial manner:—

"That the duties assigned to the circuit courts by this act are not of that description; and that the act itself does not appear to contemplate them as such, inasmuch as it subjects the decisions of these courts, made pursuant to those duties, first to the consideration and suspension of the secretary at war, and then to the revision of the legislature."

They avoided the direct issue of its constitutionality, however, by further declaring:

"As therefore the business assigned to this court by the act is not judicial, nor directed to be performed judicially, the act can only be considered as appointing commissioners for the purposes

¹ For recent discussion of this subject see William M. Meigs, "Some Recent Attacks on the American Doctrine of Judicial Power", *American Law Review*, September-October, 1906, 641-670.

² Carey's *American Museum* (1792), XII. Appendix 2.

mentioned in it by official instead of personal descriptions. . . .

"That as the objects of this act are exceedingly benevolent, and do real honor to the humanity and justice of congress, and as the judges desire to manifest on all proper occasions, and in every proper manner, their high respect for the national legislature, they will execute this act in the capacity of commissioners."

They accordingly acted in this capacity, but by way of protest forwarded on April 10 to President Washington their opinion as voiced in the extracts from the minutes and requested that he communicate these to Congress. A similar position was taken by Associate Justice Iredell and District Judge Sitgreaves of the circuit court for the district of North Carolina, and embodied in a letter of June 8 to the President.³ The judges on the middle circuit took a more radical stand, but their action will be considered in another connection in this article.

At the next session of Congress the objectionable features of the Act of 1792 were repealed and an acceptable mode of procedure upon pension-claims adopted. One section of this repealing act made it "the duty of the Secretary of War, in conjunction with the Attorney General, to take such measures as may be necessary to obtain an adjudication of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the validity of any such rights claimed under the act aforesaid, by the determination of certain persons styling themselves Commissioners."

In accordance with this latter provision a friendly suit was brought in the Supreme Court by the United States against Yale Todd to recover money paid under a pension granted him upon the finding of Jay, Cushing and Law, judges of the circuit court for the district of Connecticut, acting as commissioners. February 12, 1794, the Supreme Court—with Chief Justice Jay, Associate Justices Cushing, Wilson, Blair and Paterson present—rendered a decision against Yale Todd. The case is involved in some obscurity, since the only report is in a note appended to *United States v. Ferreira* (13 Howard, 52) by order of Chief Justice Taney in 1851. According to this note "the result of the opinions expressed" was that the power proposed to be conferred upon the circuit courts by the Act of 1792 was unconstitutional, and that statement has been rather generally interpreted into the direct statement that the Supreme Court declared the Act of 1792 unconstitutional. Professor Thayer, however, was probably right in his assertion that the court did not formally declare the act unconstitutional; it was rather a decision

³ *Annals of Congress*, Second Congress, 1319-1322.

that the theory of the legislation of March 23, 1792, adopted by some of the judges, *viz.*, that it gave them authority to act as commissioners, was untenable.⁴ A search through the records of the Supreme Court shows that the original papers of *United States v. Yale Todd* are missing, but an examination of *United States v. Ferreira* papers reveals an attested transcript of the record of the Yale Todd case, according to which the court simply declared its opinion "that Judgement be Entered for the Plaintiff".⁵ It is altogether probable then that the court avoided the issue.

Shortly after Jay and his associates had sent their letter of protest to the President in 1792, Associate Justices Wilson and Blair and District Judge Peters of the circuit court for the district of Pennsylvania also addressed a letter to the President under date of April 18, declaring "the sentiments, which, on a late painful occasion, governed us, with regard to an act passed by the legislature of the union. . . . Upon due consideration, we have been unanimously of opinion, that, under this act, the circuit court, held for the Pennsylvania district, could not proceed; . . . Be assured, that, though it became necessary, it was far from being pleasant. To be obliged to act contrary either to the obvious directions of congress, or to a constitutional principle, in our judgment, equally obvious, excited feelings in us, which we hope never to experience again."⁶

The "painful occasion" referred to was the action of the court just one week previous upon the application of William Hayburn for a pension under the Act of 1792. The following record is copied from the docket of the court:

"At a Circuit Court of the United States in and for the Pennsylvania District, etc.

11th day of April, 1792, before Wilson, Blair and Peters.

The petition of William Hayburn, was read and after due deliberation thereupon had it is considered by the Court that the same be not proceeded upon."

This action, which it has seemed advisable to call the "first Hayburn case", has been obscured by the Hayburn case before the Federal Supreme Court at the August term, 1792, when Attorney-General Randolph moved for a *mandamus* to the circuit court for the district of Pennsylvania, commanding it to proceed and hear the petition of Hayburn—a motion which the court held under advisement until Congress had modified the objectionable features of the

⁴ J. B. Thayer, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, I. 105 n. .

⁵ The writer is indebted to Mr. James D. Maher for the courteous assistance rendered him in examining these papers.

⁶ Carey's *American Museum* (1792), XII. Appendix 2.

statute, as noticed above, and upon which no return was ever made.⁷ The record of the first Hayburn case is so meagre that no importance would seem to attach to it, were it not for the light which is thrown upon it from other sources.

On April 13, 1792, a memorial from Hayburn was presented to the House of Representatives setting forth the refusal of the circuit court to take cognizance of his case and asking for relief. "This being the first instance in which a court of justice had declared a law of Congress to be unconstitutional, the novelty of the case produced a variety of opinions with respect to the measures to be taken on the occasion."⁸ This quite explicit statement carries additional weight from the fact that it is based upon the explanation given to the House by Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, who apparently had been sufficiently interested to have attended court on that day or to have acquired definite information from some source; and Boudinot was a competent authority, for he had been attorney for the plaintiffs in the case of *Holmes v. Walton* in New Jersey in 1780.⁹

James Wilson was, of course, the dominating personality of the trio of judges who had refused to proceed under an act of Congress. In the Federal Convention he had intimated, and in the Pennsylvania State Convention upon the ratification of the Constitution, he had unequivocally declared his position:

"If a law should be made inconsistent with those powers vested by this instrument in Congress, the Judges, as a consequence of their independence, and the particular powers of government being defined, will declare such law to be null and void. For the power of the constitution predominates. Anything, therefore, that shall be enacted by Congress contrary thereto, will not have the force of law."¹⁰

It is not surprising then to find Iredell, who was on circuit with Wilson in the fall of 1792, writing to his wife: "We have had a great deal of business to do here, particularly as I have reconciled myself to the propriety of doing the Invalid-business out of Court. Judge Wilson altogether declines it."¹¹

The newspapers of the day indicate that not a little interest was aroused by the first Hayburn case. Some praised the action

⁷ 2 Dallas, 409.

⁸ *Annals of Congress*, Second Congress, 556-557.

⁹ Scott Austin, *Holmes vs. Walton; the New Jersey Precedent*; *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IV. 456-469.

¹⁰ McMaster & Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, p. 354.

¹¹ McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, II. 361.

of the judges and one correspondent hoped "that they may do the same with the National Bank".¹² Many sympathized with the applicants for pensions and regretted that the "humanity of Congress has been thwarted by the action of the judges".¹³ Others regarded the action of the judges as unconstitutional, and impeachment was even threatened. The following extract from Bache's *General Advertiser* of April 20, 1792, shows that some excitement evidently prevailed: "Never was the word 'impeachment' so hackneyed, as it has been since the spirited sentence passed by our judges on an unconstitutional law. The high-fliers, in and out of Congress, and the very humblest of their humble retainers talk of nothing but impeachment! impeachment! impeachment! as if forsooth Congress were wrapped up in the cloak of infallibility, which has been torn from the shoulders of the Pope; and that it was damnable heresy and sacrilege to doubt the constitutional orthodoxy of any decision of theirs, once written on calf-skin!"

In Freneau's *National Gazette* for April 23, it was stated: "We agree . . . that humanity is better pleased with the conduct of the judges of the Eastern circuit; but . . . they too have, though in a delicate manner passed sentence of unconstitutionality on the invalid law.—We . . . assert that the word 'impeachment' was several times mentioned in the House of Representatives although no motion was made on the subject." In the same paper there appeared on May 10 a summary of the work of Congress during the session; it was said therein: "The decision of the judges against the constitutionality of an act in which the executive had concurred with the legislative departments, is the first instance, also, in which that branch of the government has withstood the proceedings of the others."

In view of all these things there would seem to be no reasonable doubt that on April 11, James Wilson, John Blair and Richard Peters declared the Invalid Pension Act of 1792 unconstitutional. Inasmuch as the docket of the court does not state this specifically and we have no opinion filed, lawyers may still hold that *Van Horn's Lessee v. Dorrance* in 1795¹⁴ is the first of which we have official record, but to the historical student the evidence would seem to be fairly conclusive that James Wilson and his associates anticipated that decision by three years in the "first Hayburn case".

MAX FARRAND.

¹² *The Mail; or Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, April 16, 1792.

¹³ *Fenno's Gazette of the United States*, May 9, 1792.

¹⁴ 2 Dallas, 304.

THE AMERICAN ACTA SANCTORUM¹

It was natural, and almost inevitable, that a large part of the literature of the Middle Ages should consist of the lives of the saints. The world was a Christian world. In nearly all countries, most writers were ecclesiastics. In a society unreservedly Christian in theory, the main endeavor of clerical writing would surely be to persuade rough men so to live that at the end they might be added to the joyful company of the elect. The saints were those ascertained by universal judgment or papal declaration to inhabit already the mansions of felicity, where evermore they interceded for the members of the church militant. What more natural than that, for the edification of the latter, clerical authors should recount in detail the lives of those who had fought the good fight, had struggled with success up the thorny pathway, had proved that the sanctified life was not impossible to flesh and blood, even to the ardent flesh and insurgent blood of the Middle Ages? Accordingly we have multitudes of such biographies, whose popularity is attested by the great number of manuscript copies in which some of them have survived even to our own time.

It is well known that, in the relative paucity of materials for many portions of medieval history, these pious narratives have been put to frequent and effective use by historians. Sometimes, since

Even in a palace life may be led well,

the saint whose life the historian finds among his materials was himself a man of high position, whose life is an important part of the political history of his country. Such was St. Louis, whose life by the Sire de Joinville is a classical and indispensable part of the record of French national development. Such in a less degree but in a darker country was St. Margaret of Scotland, whose life by Abbot Turgot tells us more of the reign of her husband King Malcolm and of the life of the Scottish nobility and court than we can learn for other parts of that dim century from all other sources put together. That the biographies of statesmen like St. Dunstan

¹ Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at Madison, December 27, 1907.

and St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Bernard and St. Eligius, furnish invaluable materials to the historian, requires no demonstration. Other saints, though usually not thus immersed in secular affairs, have nevertheless become so involved in particular episodes that their memoirs become, for the moment, sources of prime importance. We should not willingly part with what we know of the ending of the Babylonish Captivity through the activities of St. Catherine of Siena; in the acts of Saint Demetrius the siege of Thessalonica by the Avars in 597 is so fully recounted as to give us our best details as to the military methods then employed in the siege and defence of fortified places.

Still more obvious and direct is the light which the hagiographers cast on European history when their subjects have borne a leading part in clerical or Christian movements. Biographies like those of St. Cyril and St. Martin, St. Patrick and St. Boniface, are often our chief materials for understanding the conversion of northern and western Europe to Christianity, surely one of the most memorable movements in human history. In the later ages, it is in the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic and St. Ignatius that we may best study, in their early development, those three organizations which have proved the most potent agencies for maintaining vital Christianity in a world already nominally Christian. Of another variety are the lives or narratives of travelling saints, whose observations are among the chief materials for our knowledge of medieval geography.

Less obvious, but hardly less interesting, is the contribution which the lives of the medieval saints make, indirectly and without intention, to our knowledge of social history. Their authors wrote for purposes of edification and devotion. Often they gave little heed to accuracy of statement; often their clerical prepossessions so beclouded their minds that we cannot trust their testimony in the very matters about which they are most concerned to persuade us. Often, on the other hand, they furnish invaluable testimony about matters respecting which they had no thought of conveying information to any reader. They may falsify the portraits which occupy the foregrounds of their pictures, distort and make unreal the attitudes and actions which their minds are set on delineating; but the background is rendered with photographic fidelity, because depicted automatically and unconsciously. It is as certain that the biographer of St. Gervinus or St. Gungulphus will give us trustworthy data of the manners and customs of his time, as that the great Florentine artists will in the backgrounds of their Biblical

pictures afford us veracious glimpses of the Tuscan landscape of the sixteenth century. They could not do otherwise. Thus from the hagiographers we often derive fragments of evidence in social history which we should seek in vain in the professed chronicles.

The pious biographer of the Christian missionary little knew that we should value his incidental touches respecting the heathen quite as much as his labored tribute to his hero, should eagerly take our first glimpses of pagan Sweden through the eyes of St. Ansgar, and treasure what little we can learn of conditions in heathen Germany, beyond the borders of civilization, from the life of St. Boniface written by a simple-minded companion. Nowhere does the student of folklore find fuller data as to pagan superstitions and practices in seventh-century Gaul than in the life of St. Eligius. As of the heathen, so also of those humble and inarticulate classes concerning whose life the chroniclers of the Middle Ages tell us so little. Froissart might think of none but lords and ladies; kings and barons, bishops and abbots, might fill the canvas of Matthew Paris. But the Kingdom of Heaven was a Christian democracy. The Northumbrian peasant, the merchant's son of Assisi, the shepherd girl of Lorraine, might become saints, and their biographies, especially the stories of their childhood and youth, will be sure to convey some precious indications as to the everyday life of the classes from which they sprang. Much of our best knowledge of the situation of the medieval Jews comes from the lives of those sainted children whose blood they were fabled to have shed as a means of keeping their unholy passover—St. William of Norwich or St. Simon of Trent or the holy child of La Guardia.

Since it was ordinarily requisite that sanctity should be attested by miracles, narratives of miracles play a large part in the lives of medieval saints. In these we find many of our best illustrations of medieval conditions and manners, and especially in the stories of miracles of healing. Such stories are full of instruction respecting medieval diseases and medicine, pestilence, manias and hygiene. How, for instance, should we know anything of the use of anaesthetics in the Middle Ages, if it were not recorded for us in the life of one of the saints that "many persons fall asleep after taking a draught of oblivion, which physicians call *letargion*, and are not sensible of incisions in their limbs, or sometimes of burning and cutting in the vital parts, inflicted on them in this state, and on waking from sleep are not aware of what has been done to them"?

Or again, to take the one point of the language used by educated people in England under the first Plantagenets, a question

respecting which chroniclers are silent; we have our best indications in the hagiographers. William of Canterbury, in his life of St. Thomas Becket, gives a story concerning Helewisia de Morville, wife of one of St. Thomas's murderers, which represents her, a woman of Norman descent, one hundred years after the Conquest, as using English when calling for her husband's aid to punish a refractory Englishman. "Huwe of Morvill, war, war, Liulf haveth his sword ydrawen", she cries; English was her natural tongue. Again, in Reginald of Coldingham's life of the contemporary hermit St. Godric, it appears that the monks of Durham, though Latin was their ordinary language, conversed in English with St. Godric, who spoke French only by miracle. The Virgin taught St. Godric an English hymn, and this is written down in English in Reginald's book, which was intended for the reading of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham. From a passage in the life of bishop Hugh of Lincoln by the abbot Adam of Eynsham, it appears that St. Hugh, who was a Burgundian by birth, did not understand the English dialects of Kent and Huntingdonshire, but that he was addressed by the natives as if it were naturally to be expected that he should understand what they said.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the varied and curious ways in which the lives of the saints light up for us the daily life of the Middle Ages. We see in the biography of St. Elizabeth of Hungary the domestic details of a Thuringian castle and of the hovels in the villages around it. In the life of St. Thomas Aquinas we see the characteristics of hazing in medieval universities, and later, in that of St. Stanislaus Kostka, we observe how the same practice was conducted in the college of the Jesuits at Vienna. In the life of St. Etheldreda we perceive, not without instruction, that a great abbess of the seventh century allowed herself the luxury of a hot bath only before the great festivals of the Church, and then made it a demonstration of humility, by first bathing her nuns with her own hands. The story of the Campanian farmer complaining to St. Felix of the theft of his oxen, and menacing the saint, if he does not make good the loss caused by his neglect, or, in the life of St. Wulfstan, the story of the man who had killed another and "could not on any terms obtain the friendship, nor by any payment get the pardon," of the man's relatives, that of his ordering a nut-tree which overhung a church to be cut down, and of the patron's resisting because he sometimes feasted or played at dice under its shade, and that of the sacrist who was enjoined to burn a candle before Wulfstan's tomb for a year, and

to repeat fifteen psalms, for having suffered a book which was in his custody to be stolen, the many tales of funerals and of church-building, of almsgiving, of impiety—such stories as these, though individually of little significance, yet when brought together in sufficient quantity may help us to imagine and to reconstruct those vanished states of society which the contemporary chroniclers take for granted.

Not the least interesting result of such study and combining is the light which a nation's saints throw on a nation's character. "We live by admiration." However much a saint might feel himself to be a member and a champion of the universal church, he could not escape being a man of his own country and age; and in the long run those whom time has selected as the chief saints of a nation have come to that position through a congeniality with the nation's traits that has brought them its steady and natural veneration. In St. Louis we see the pattern of French chivalry, fearless and honorable, full of courtesy and generosity. In Joan of Arc, beatified though not canonized, we see typified the high spirit of the French nation, its military instinct, its imaginative heroism, its enthusiasm for ideals, its ardor of self-sacrifice. In St. Elizabeth of Thuringia we see the type of German domestic and practical piety; in St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier the independence, the reticence, and the organizing power of the Basque. St. Francis of Assisi, with his sensitive poetic imagination, fresh, simple and child-like, sympathetic with the poor, joyful in all renunciation, could be no other than the best-beloved saint of the Italians. St. Teresa, ecstatic in her mystical union with God, yet gay and natural and gifted in practical reforms and other dealings with this world, is as distinctly the Spaniard as the impulsive, passionate, warm-hearted Columba is the genuine Irish Celt, while in St. Cuthbert, buoyant, energetic, the strong walker, the lover of the country and of boyish sports, we see the genuine Northumbrian. (Where indeed but in Yorkshire would William Paternoster have been struck dumb as a punishment for walking alone with a little girl and not enjoying athletic sports?)

But enough has been said of the profit which historians have been able to draw from the stories of the European saints. It is time to turn to the specific subject of the present address. It has been entitled "The American Acta Sanctorum". Its purpose is to call attention to an analogous body of material which lies at the service of students of American history, and to suggest certain reflections as to its content and use. At first thought, obvious dif-

ferences strike the mind. The lives of the European saints have for the most part been brought together in comprehensive collections, chief among them the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandist fathers, a stately series of nearly seventy folio volumes, in which the original narratives have been treated with all the resources, and are accompanied with all the apparatus, of modern historical scholarship. The American "Acta Sanctorum", on the other hand, appears in the shape of numberless little books, shabby and faded, printed most often on provincial presses and seldom straying far from the place of origin. Each of them contains an artless biography, composed by some pious friend of the deceased clergyman or other saint, in which his spiritual struggles and triumphs, his labors in the vineyard or sufferings under persecution, are recounted for purposes of edification. Sometimes the little book is an autobiography; and there are a few instances of collective biography, like certain portions of Mather's *Magnalia*. But in general we have only the shabby little provincial books, first and only editions, raw materials of an "Acta Sanctorum", not to be brought together without some difficulty, and nowise provided with a Bollandist apparatus of critical or historical comment. Aside from such differences of form, it must be admitted, as a matter of course, that there are differences of character between the mass of medieval literature we have been considering and any body of Protestant hagiology, mostly lives of married clergymen and laymen living in free modern states; and also that the historian's need of such narratives is less urgent when he is dealing with a period much subsequent to the invention of the printing-press than when he occupies himself with the Dark Ages.

Nevertheless, it may fairly be maintained that the American historical scholar can draw from these ill-printed little memorials of local piety much the same varieties of benefit which his European brother derives from the imposing folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*. In the first place, not a few of our American saints have borne an important part in public affairs. The second book of the *Magnalia*, Turell's life of Benjamin Colman, the memoirs of Presidents Wheelock, Stiles and Dwight, of Manasseh Cutler and Bishop Leonidas Polk, are the lives of persons who exerted great and continuous influence on secular movements in their day and generation. Others impinged upon the circle of political life for lesser periods, or afford us occasional but valued glimpses of its events. The autobiography of Rev. Thomas Shepard casts most precious light upon the early migration to Massachusetts Bay, the life of Rev.

David Caldwell upon the proceedings of the North Carolina convention of 1789, that of President Manning upon the devious course of Rhode Island in the Continental Congress. One of the best accounts of the sea-fight between the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian* is to be found in an autobiographical book by Samuel Leach. Less important, yet of genuine interest, are the curious account which John Churchman, a Quaker preacher, gives of his appearing before the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1748 to dissuade it from the support of warlike measures; his narrative of the treaty with Teedyuscung and other Indians at Easton in 1757, at which he was present; and the glimpses which saintly John Richardson gives us of Penn and Baltimore and Lady Baltimore in 1702.

As in the parallel case of the European saints, however, we naturally find fuller light upon those transactions which would fall more distinctly within the usual scope of clerical endeavor. The life of John Woolman is surely one of the classics of our colonial literature, marked by all that beauty of spirit and of phrase which elevation, serenity, the habit of meditation, and intimacy with the Bible could so often confer on the writings of the Quakers; but it is also one of the classics of the early anti-slavery movement, and one of the best and best-known examples of the class which we are describing. The life of good Anthony Benezet, the journals of Bishop Coke, are other examples. The anti-slavery movement is illustrated by passages in a host of such biographies; the temperance movement by others. The essential data regarding the formation in 1826 of the Virginia Society for the Promotion of Temperance, of its local auxiliaries, and of the Georgia State Temperance Society some two years later, are best sought in the biography of Elder Abner W. Clopton.

We have also our saintly travellers, whose roamings over our vast continent have enriched the history of American geography with some of its best materials. What William Rubruk and John of Plano Carpini were to medieval geography, that surely were Marquette and Jogues and DeSmet, Father Francisco Garcés and Father Junípero Serra to the exploration of the United States. But upon hagiology of this class it is superfluous to dwell in this city, in which was prepared for publication Dr. Thwaites's splendid series of the *Jesuit Relations*.

But, as in the European case, many of the most interesting and most valuable bits of historical knowledge which we can obtain from our American saints' lives are conveyed to us by the author without his intending to do anything of the sort. Contemporary biog-

rapher or autobiographer, he pictures unconsciously, so far as he pictures it at all, the social *milieu* which he saw before him. His object is to edify, to bring about the conversion of precious souls. If we obtain from his pages anything else than our edification or conversion, it is "*corban*, that is to say a gift"; it has been no part of his purpose to furnish materials for the historian. All the more certain is it that what we thus obtain will be trustworthy evidence, except in so far as some general prepossession of the preacher, for which we can make allowance, shall enter in to darken his picture of the actual unregenerate world.

In one particular our analogy will be found defective. The Protestant world having assumed that since the time of the apostles the mediation of the saints has not had the power of effecting miracles, we shall not find in our American Protestant lives an exact parallel to those miraculous tales which have so large a place in medieval hagiology, and which furnish us so many interesting glimpses into the lives of those mostly humble persons for whose benefit the miracles were wrought. But after all the defect is fairly well supplied. If the Protestant biographer is not disposed to maintain that his hero could work miracles, yet he knows well that God defends his elect, and often interposes through "special providences" to protect clergymen of his favorite denomination. Thus, though miracles performed at the saint's tomb or by his relics are absent, the pages of American hagiology bristle with special providences, by means of which we often penetrate into the obscurity of colonial or frontier life.

As the saints of old, and their biographers, lead us within sight of the heathen of Sweden or of Saxony, or as through the eyes of St. Francis Xavier we view the natives of Goa and Travancore, of the Moluccas and Japan, so by means of the American missionaries we see the Indians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is extraordinary, how large a part of our knowledge of their characters and their sociology is derived from the lives or narratives of such men—of Eliot and Brainerd, of the Jesuits of the north and the Franciscans of the southwest. The same is true of the life of the frontier. Few travellers show us so much of the actual conditions of backwoods existence as the itinerant missionaries—of the clearings and the log-cabins, the rude agriculture and the perpetual fevers, the camp-meetings and the Indian depredations, the fraternal kindness and the limitless hospitality. Best of all for our purposes are the Methodist circuit-riders, keen, hearty men, whose outdoor life kept them healthy in mind and body, and whose grasp on

the real world had never been relaxed by education. As one of them says, who at the risk of his life had ridden the Clarksburg circuit during the Indian wars preceding Wayne's treaty, "To speak in backwoods style, they appeared to be surrounded by a kind of holy 'knock-'em-down' power, that was often irresistible". They were not forever feeling their spiritual pulses and doubting of their own salvation, like some anaemic graduates of theological seminaries whose biographers have deemed them very precious vessels because of the very traits that made them useless; nor were they forever walking in visions, like so many of the Quaker itinerants, whose books are often so beautiful and to the historical inquirer so disappointing. Stout-hearted, downright, muscular, practical, the circuit-rider faced the actual world of the frontier, and saw it clearly. If like Peter Cartwright or Henry Smith he leaves behind him a description of what he saw, we are much the gainers.

But even in the older parts of the country, there have been regions or classes of which we know little unless by chance we find some faint record in the early life of one who rose out of them to saintship. We know well the leaders of Virginia politics and society at the time of the Revolution—every important thought and sentiment of Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Henry. But were it not for what little we can glean from the lives of Rev. Devereux Jarratt and Elder Barton W. Stone, should we know one fact, aside from genealogy and county records, about the poor people of Bath Parish and Pittsylvania County, their sentiments and their opinions? If it were a question of Boeotia or of early Wessex, we should treasure every such fact with minute care. Why should we not treasure with equal zeal the little glimpses into life on West River which are afforded us by the memoirs of Thomas Story, or the quaint pictures which his fellow-Quaker John Richardson gives us of Bermuda and its governor, of Nantucket society at the beginning of the eighteenth century and of its Deborah, Mary Starbuck?

Not less interesting than the occasional glimpses which we obtain into the lives of out-of-the-way communities, or of inarticulate classes not represented in literature, are many passages in the lives of Catholic or Protestant worthies who were not of English descent. They paint for us the obscure processes of Americanization. Quaintly expressed, but typical of American conditions, is the religious experience of Brother Crum, a German Methodist in Maryland. He said, "I prayed in Dutch; I am Dutch; and must get converted in Dutch. These are all English people, and they got

converted in English. I prayed and prayed in Dutch, but could not get the blessing. As last I felt willing to get converted in English or Dutch, as the Lord pleased. Then the blessing came, and I got converted in English."

It would not be easy to enumerate all the little ways in which the lives of the American saints may enlarge our knowledge of the social background, the substantial warp of our American fabric. Many saints studied at the small colleges of our early days, many taught in country schools or academies; we can learn something from them, incidentally, of the progress of education. They show us something of slavery. Anthony Jefferson Pearson is warned by his father and, his biographer thinks, might well have been anxious in his own mind, lest his connection with the African Sabbath School in the little town in Tennessee where he is attending college might injure him in the estimation of others. He prayerfully tosses up a coin—it is the year 1831, when extreme reformers had their fullest swing—to determine whether his course through this vale of tears, this solemn period of probation, shall be marked by the moderate use of tea and coffee, or whether he shall confine himself strictly to water. It is not without interest to learn that even in 1817, at Augusta, Georgia, it was already customary for the piano to be drowned by conversation at all tea-parties; and the street cries of early Boston are illustrated by the imitations of them with which a youthful saint awakes from sleep and shows to the ear of her anxious parent and biographer that she has passed the crisis of a dangerous illness. We know what our sensations are on seeing a peach-orchard. What were those of Elder Abner W. Clopton in 1828? "Seeing a flourishing peach-orchard by the road, he felt so sensibly on the consequences which it would produce, that he entered the house of the owner, and warned him, or rather his lady, of the danger of the temptation—expressing his fears that the fruit of that orchard would bring her to widowhood, and her babes to orphanage. In two years his fears were realized". To the elder's mind, a peach-orchard had but one meaning; in that meaning lies the explanation of the western insurrection of 1794.

More broadly speaking, the distilled essence of a multitude of these saintly biographies is able, as in the case of the European nations, to show us something of national character. Certain traits which are characteristic or frequent in the lives of medieval saints are absent or curiously infrequent in those of America. They are not records of austerities and macerations. The Methodist circuit-rider came eating and drinking. The chickens fled at his approach.

The American saint has lived his life in the world, not in a monastery. His piety has been a Protestant piety, looking toward edification and sanctification of the human being much more than toward the ceaseless adoration of God, contemplative resignation to his will, mystical absorption in his essence. We find few ecstasies like those of St. Teresa. There is a striking want of poetic or imaginative touches. The American saint may be capable of exalted self-sacrifice, but he does not ceremoniously take Lady Poverty to be his bride. He shows us no parallel to St. Francis preaching to the birds, or singing the praises of the Lord responsively with the nightingales of Assisi. He lives in the dry air of this western world, and shares its active, practical, work-a-day life. He has little depth of thought, little subtlety of theology. The triumphant debates with opponents, which his biographer so often records with admiration, are triumphs of Philistine smartness rather than of candor or elevation or spiritual discernment. But, like his nation, he makes up for lack of depth by dexterity, versatility and practical efficiency. He knows what to do in an emergency, and carries into the life of the circuit-rider, the missionary or the reformer that quickness of invention bred in generations of Americans by the life of the forest or the isolated farmstead. Nowhere in literature will you find a completer manifestation of the universal Yankee, inventive, resourceful, brimming over with energy and enterprise, than in the life of the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, missionary in Constantinople. Not for him the mere preaching of sermons. He must be up and doing. To give work to his Armenian converts in the time of the Crimean war, he organizes great bakeries which supply the allied armies. He enters into the laundry business, and, when his protégées are halted a moment by the indescribable condition of the soldiers' clothing, he devises machinery to enable them to perform their task. He invents the best cholera mixture ever known in Turkey. He establishes factories wherein some of his people can support themselves by making stove-pipes, instructs others in the manufacture of rat-traps, invents a new kind of coffee-mill, and meantime maintains a theological seminary and founds a college.

The American saints have also imbibed from their native atmosphere a cheerful and hopeful spirit, which not even the extreme rigors of ultra-Calvinism can wholly destroy. They know themselves to be members of a rising empire, in which the common man shall have opportunities he has nowhere enjoyed before. They feel themselves to be in the full stream of progress, and with lusty cour-

age and enthusiasm lay their lands upon the oar. They are like Andrew Marvell's exiles in the "remote Bermudas":

Thus sung they in the English boat
A holy and a cheerful note,
And all the while, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

Not less characteristic is it that the sense of progress is so often, at any rate among the saints of the nineteenth century, expressed numerically. The dry American mind loves figures. Chiefly occupied with measurable material tasks—the subduing of the wilderness, the bridging of rivers, the laying of railroads, the growing of crops—the American has acquired an inveterate interest in statistic, in the making of a "record", and carries it with him into other than practical concerns. He thinks arithmetically concerning his church, his paintings and his sports. Those who compare American athletics to those of Greece forget that the Greek had no stop-watch, no accurate means of measuring time. Does the American actually love out-of-door sports, the pleasure of the pathless woods, the "breezy call of incense-breathing morn", or does he love numerical records of out-of-door sports? Certainly the crowd in front of the newspaper's tabular bulletin-board seems not less intent than the crowd on the "grand-stand". Certainly there is a deep and widespread interest in the framing of "all-America" nines and elevens, one of the most disinterestedly ideal of all mathematical employments. In a similar spirit, Rev. Peter Cartwright and his fellows do not often fail to let us know the number of those converted at each camp-meeting.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the interest of these little lives of long-forgotten worthies, or the amount which they can yield to the student of American social history or of national psychology. In most of them there are long arid stretches. Most of them are written in the "*patois* of Canaan", in the set phrases of obsolete theologies, making difficult or tedious reading for the modern inquirer. If one ventures to insist a little upon their utility to the younger investigator, it is from a sense of a real danger which besets the latter's pathway, the danger of confining himself to the constitutional and political history of America, now so easy to study, and from a consequent desire to urge upon him the claims which American religious history may make upon one who wishes a full understanding of the American character and spirit. One would not wish to trench upon the field so excellently covered by last

year's presidential address before this association; and indeed it is obvious that the study of the social history and national psychology of the United States may and must be approached by many pathways. Yet there is something to be said for the contention that, of all means of estimating American character from American history, the pursuit of religious history is the most complete. If we approach the problem through the history of American literature we are in constant danger of forgetting how small the literary class is and always has been. Even if we include the readers as well as the producers, we cannot assume that the traits which are revealed by our literary writings are necessarily those of the nation at large, the obscure, unreading, unprinting majority. The cleverest of books upon our literary history seems often to make defective estimates of our national character for want of access to the minds of these inarticulate ones. What is true of literature, is even more true of philosophy. If we turn to the history of the plastic arts in America, how brief, how limited has been their course. Not through them, surely, can the American spirit be made to yield up its total secret, be appreciated in its general extent. The history of American music is an equally slender stream. Little of American life beyond that of recent years and large cities can be said to be reflected in it. How slight a part music played in the first one hundred and fifty years of our colonial existence, even in the most intelligent of our towns, may be seen by a delicious passage in one of our saintly biographies, Turell's life of Dr. Benjamin Coleman. The worthy doctor makes a series of proposals to his Boston congregation and others, advocating that the old psalm-book should be enriched by more modern additions. Among these proposals we find the following, which paints to the life the musical abilities of a Boston congregation, thirty years before the Revolution;

8. That with respect unto such Psalms as Dr. Watts has adapted only to a Tune which our Congregation cannot sing, either we resolve upon learning and bringing into Use among us said Tune, or that a new Metre of such Psalms, or part of them, be attempted as near as we can turn them to his Stile and Manner.

He who would understand the American of past and present times, and to that end would provide himself with data representing all classes, all periods, and all regions, may find in the history of American religion the closest approach to the continuous record he desires. Not that all or even most Americans have been religious, but there have been religious men and women in every class, every period, every subdivision of America, and multitudes

of them have left individual or collective records of their thoughts and ways and feelings. Millions have felt an interest in religion where thousands have felt an interest in literature or philosophy, in music or art. Millions have known little of any book save one, and that one the most interesting of religious books, the most influential, the most powerful to mould and transform. Doubtless they were occupied mainly with the tasks of daily life; their achievements in these, and the conflicts of economic interest which accompanied them, may be reduced to solid and instructive statistics, without which social history may become unsubstantial and vague. But no view is truthful that leaves out of account the ideals which animated these toiling millions, the thoughts concerning the universe and man which informed their minds. The Spanish trooper held himself to be ever in the hand of the God of Israel, who guided his chosen people by pillars of fire and of cloud. The Puritan farmer sighted his promised land from the top of Pisgah, and thought of no similitude for his Indian warfare but the smiting of the Hittites and the Jebusites. The imagination of the pioneer mother, making with her baby the weary journey through the western wilderness, had no parallel to dwell on but that of the Flight into Egypt.

Moreover, the history of religion in America holds a peculiarly close relation to the general history of the American spirit from the fact that here, more than elsewhere, the concerns of churches have been managed by the laity or in accordance with their will. If ever anywhere ecclesiastical history can be rightly treated as consisting solely of the history of ecclesiastics, certainly it has not been so in the United States. It has reflected the thoughts and sentiments, not of a priestly caste, but of the mass of laymen. An acute English observer, Bishop Coke, speaking of the able debates he heard at the conference of the Methodist preachers of America in 1792, says, "Throughout the debates they conducted themselves as the servants of the people, and therefore never lost sight of them on any question."

Let us take a few examples. In the psychic life of Europe we recognize the middle portion of the eighteenth century as a time of heightened emotionality. We see this in the *Sturm und Drang* literature of Germany, in Rousseau and the Methodists, in the wave of national feeling that swept William Pitt to supreme power. In treating the European history of that period, we should never think of ignoring phenomena so significant. Ought we then, when we are dealing with the same age in the history of a country which was practically without literature, art or nationality, to ignore the Great

Awakening, or to treat it otherwise than as the most important and significant event of its time?

Fifty years later we hear in the spiritual life of Europe another modulation of key, the Romantic Movement. The richer culture of the Old World enables us to trace it in many manifestations, in the shifting of ground from rationalism to mysticism, in the rapid heightening of national feeling, in the abrupt transition from *The Botanic Garden* of Dr. Erasmus Darwin to *Childe Harold* and *The Battle of the Baltic*. Such a wave of feeling, we may be sure, could not fail to transmit itself across the Atlantic, and to be manifested in some form in the America of 1800, still colonially dependent upon the European mind. We do indeed trace a slight romantic movement in American literature, a faint heightening of American patriotism, slowly mustering courage for the War of 1812. But if we would seek the most powerful and pervasive manifestation of the movement, the best analogy which the poverty of American culture permitted, we can find it nowhere else than in the wonderful religious revivals which in those years swept through America, and especially through the forest camp-meetings of the non-literary West. It is a narrow-minded student who pursues with eager interest every tortuous move of Jeffersonian diplomacy but disdains to read of these vital movements, or who fails to perceive how closely and with what equal steps the really great political advances of the Jeffersonian era are accompanied by parallel movements in theology and religion, the growth of the Methodists, Unitarians and Disciples, with their heightened sense of the dignity of human nature and of the importance of fraternal union. Equally limited is the mind which can not find in the early story of Mormonism a prime source of illumination upon the actual mentality of the obscure villagers of 1830.

With a little hesitation, one may take a pregnant example from the history of the latest period. The most interesting American historical biography published in recent years, and one deserving an important place in our "Acta Sanctorum", is the life of Mrs. Mary Eddy. A plea for the study of American religious history by others than young theologues may well take account of the movement which she represents. We have here no concern with the validity or invalidity of its theological or philosophical basis. We are only to consider it, with all proper respect, as a phenomenon in the American history of the last twenty-five years. Great pains have been expended in the effort to separate fact from baseless tradition in the early years of Mohammedanism. We welcome with

enthusiasm those wonderful discoveries of early Manichæan manuscripts through which the Prussian Academy's recent explorations in Turkestan have laid before us the development of another great modification of Christianity. But here we have growing up among us, in the full light of day, a new religion with a million adherents, threatening in the early years of the twentieth century as grave an invasion of the domain of traditional Christianity as Joachim of Flora and the *Eternal Gospel* threatened in the early years of the thirteenth; and how many young doctors of philosophy, concerned with recent history, have made a thorough study of the movement? Yet he who cannot explain it to himself must not pretend that he understands the American society of the last quarter-century—or at any rate the bourgeois society of our long-settled communities; since it is from the bourgeois portions of settled society that new religions are apt to spring.

We are accustomed to adjourn such explanations by saying that it is too soon to make them; and no doubt this is true. Yet certain lines of remark seem already open. We can measure the distance we have come. It is a long remove from the tribal god of the early Puritans, the vertebrate Jehovah, the self-conscious martinet of a troubled universe, to the vague and circumambient deity of Mrs. Eddy, the fluid source of therapeutic beneficence. But it marks a long transition in our social life. The early colonist, his life environed with dangers and studded with marked events, must have on high a conscious and watchful sovereign, ever ready to protect the body and to chasten the soul by drastic interpositions. At the other extreme,

We sit here in the Promised Land
That flows with Freedom's honey and milk.

Few of us are ever in personal danger. We have had years of extraordinary prosperity. The comfortable middle-class society of our settled communities has had little occasion to feel the heart-gripping stresses of danger and calamity and remorse. In such a soft society, illness and physical pain easily come to seem the chief evils of life. Consciousness of nerves and consciousness of the processes of digestion come to take nearly the place which consciousness of sin held in the mind of the seventeenth-century American. Such a society, the product of peace and industrial prosperity, is sure to be seized with great power by a religion which cheerfully ignores evil and which, whatever its claims upon superior intellects, presents itself to the mass of bourgeois minds as primarily a religion of healing.

Why do not Americans study more intently the age of the Antonines? There they will find a state of society singularly resembling our own—a world grown prosperous and soft and humane with long-continued peace and abounding industrial development, a population formed by the mixture of all races, in which the ancient stock still struggles to rule and to assimilate, but is powerless to preserve unimpaired its traditions, a mushroom growth of cities, a universal passion for organization into industrial unions and fraternal orders, a system in which woman has exceptionally full equality with man, a society in which the newly rich occupy the centre of the stage, offending the eye with the vulgar display of brute wealth yet pacifying the mind and heart with the record of numberless and kindly benefactions. In this soft and genial society, the benign product of world-wide peace and growing wealth, we may find analogies for almost every phenomenon of present-day American religion, from the sumptuous ritual of historic churches to the crude deceptions of vagrant astrologers, from the “timbrelled anthems” of the Salvation Army to the viscous rhetoric of Christian Science. Isis and Mithra and the pagan origins of Gnosticism can help us to understand the swarming religions of Chicago and New York, and through them the society to which they belong.

To the young teacher or investigator, to whom such discourses as this are principally or most hopefully addressed, such illustrations may seem far-fetched and inconclusive. Possibly they are so. But it may be hoped that at least the main theses of this address may nevertheless receive on the part of such hearers a careful consideration. In every other period of recorded time, we know that the study of religion casts valuable light on many other aspects of history. Why should it be otherwise with the religious history of America? Unless we are content to confine ourselves to the well-worn grooves of constitutional and political history, and to resign to sciences less cautious than history the broad story of American culture, why should we not seek light from every quarter? Most of all let us seek it from the history of American religion, in the sum total an ample record, even though in parts we have to compose it like a mosaic from fragments of unpromising material.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

DOCUMENTS

I. Joseph Gales on the War Manifesto of 1812

JOSEPH GALES (1786-1860), of the firm of Gales and Seaton, author of the letter and memorandum which follow, was from 1810 to 1860 editor and proprietor of the *National Intelligencer*, and as such had unusual means of information concerning many events in the political history of the United States. Richard K. Crallé, to whom the letter was addressed, was a wealthy planter in Virginia, of literary tastes and a devoted friend and follower of John C. Calhoun. When Calhoun was Secretary of State in 1844, he became the chief clerk of the Department of State, a position corresponding with that of an assistant secretary at the present time. He was Calhoun's literary executor and collected and edited his works (New York, 1853-1854). He also gathered material for a life of Calhoun of which only some disconnected notes survive. I am indebted to his grandson, J. Lawrence Campbell, esq., of Bedford City, Virginia, for the two letters which are printed here.

For the report to which the first letter relates, see *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., part II., p. 1546, and compare the President's message to Congress, June 1, 1812, *Messages and State Papers of the Presidents*, I. 499. The report has always, heretofore, been attributed to Calhoun. John Randolph Tucker's article on Calhoun in Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, says: "He drew a report which placed before the country the issue of war, or submission to wrong." Von Holst's *Calhoun*, p. 21, and his *Constitutional History of the United States*, I. 232, leave the impression that Calhoun wrote the report. Gay's *Madison*, p. 298, says: "Mr. Calhoun's committee followed this lead [set by the President's message] and improved upon it in the report recommending an immediate declaration of war." Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, VI. 226, says: "Calhoun brought in a report recommending an immediate appeal to arms. As a history of the causes which led to this result, Calhoun's report was admirable, and its clearness of style and statement forced comparisons not flattering to the President's Message", a remark which might have been withheld had the author known that the message and report came from sources so closely allied as to be almost intermingled.

The style of the message may be profitably compared with that of Monroe, especially in his letters¹ of February, 1810, to Richard Brent; of September 10 and November 19, 1810, and January 23, 1811, to John Taylor of Caroline; of February 25, 1811, to L. W. Tazewell; and of June 13, 1812, to Taylor, the letter last referred to disclosing the policy of the administration with reference to the war.

The allusion in the last paragraph of the letter is to the *National Intelligencer* for September 3, 1853, which contained in full the speech of John Randolph of Roanoke, delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1813, published for the first time with certain editorial notes. In one part of the speech Randolph spoke of the rejection of Monroe's and Pinkney's treaty of 1806 and said that the putting of "one of these Commissioners of the United States—these very missionaries of peace and conciliation—into the Executive Councils of this country has been the signal of War with Great Britain". Upon this the *Intelligencer's* note says:

There is nothing in the whole of this speech that is more worthy of the reader's attention than this passage, which it would be yet difficult for most readers of the present day to unravel without a clue to it. Mr. Monroe (at the time of this speech Secretary of State) had been the associate with Mr. Pinkney in the Commission at London, in the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain, which, on being transmitted in due form to the United States, was promptly *rejected* by President Jefferson, without even waiting to take the sense of the Senate upon it. Against this rejection Mr. Monroe had earnestly protested; and upon his return soon after to the United States publicly vindicated himself from what he considered as a harsh proceeding on the part of the Executive, and implying an undeserved reproach upon him as a Statesman and a Minister. Among those who evinced a decided feeling against the Executive in this controversy was Mr. Randolph himself, who became in some sort the leader of a party making common cause with Mr. Monroe, and carrying his zeal to the extent of seeking to place that distinguished citizen in the field as a candidate for the Presidency upon the approaching expiration of Mr. Jefferson's term of service. Eventually, however, things took a different turn. Before the election came on, Mr. Madison became the sole candidate of the Republican (Jeffersonian) party; and, long before the election actually took place, Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe were brought together, during the summer vacation at Monticello, or elsewhere in Virginia—through the instrumentality, as it was then generally understood, of Mr. Jefferson—and whatever of coolness existed between them was entirely removed by amicable explanations. We do

¹ *Writings of James Monroe* (ed. Hamilton), vol. V.

not know that the friendship of Mr. Randolph to Mr. Monroe was by this latter incident turned to enmity, but it was sensibly abated. Nor was it at all restored by the acceptance by Mr. Monroe of the office of Secretary of State, offered to him by President Madison, midway of his first term of the Presidency, to fill the vacancy which was occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Secretary Smith, in the spring of 1811.

The passage in Mr. Randolph's speech upon which we are now remarking was hardly intended in kindness to Mr. Monroe—perhaps not in a hostile spirit—but certainly must be taken to convey a reflection upon his consistency in regard to the questions in controversy between the United States and Great Britain, out of which the existing war had sprung. However intended, it is due to the truth of history to say that Mr. Randolph hardly overstated the “fact” when he said that the accession of Mr. Monroe to the Cabinet had been the “signal of war with Great Britain.” The connexion of the two events cannot, indeed, well be denied. We ourselves do not doubt that the opinions and exertions of Mr. Monroe greatly influenced the great event. We have ever believed, also, that his course in that trying emergency was most honorable to his discernment as well as to his patriotic and fearless spirit; and that, therefore, no disparagement could be inferred from it to his consistency as a true American statesman. This is not the place, nor have we now the time, to undertake to indite the unwritten history of that declaration of war. It would make a volume of itself. We content ourselves for the present with quoting from the late Oration of Mr. Crittenden (in memory of Mr. Clay) the following brief but just view of the position which Mr. Monroe occupied upon accepting the office of Secretary of State:

“Mr. Monroe had returned but a year or two before from a course of public service abroad, in which, as Minister Plenipotentiary, he had represented the United States at the several courts, in succession, of France, Spain, and Great Britain. From the last of these missions he had come home thoroughly disgusted with the contemptuous manner in which the rights of the United States were treated by the belligerent Powers, and especially by England. This treatment, which even extended to the personal intercourse between their Ministers and the representatives of this country, he considered as indicative of a settled determination on their parts—presuming upon the supposed incapacity of this Government for war—to *reduce to system* a course of conduct calculated to debase and prostrate us in the eyes of the world. Reasoning thus, he had brought his mind to a serious and firm conviction that the rights of the United States, as a nation, would never be respected by the Powers of the Old World until this Government summoned up resolution to resent such usage, not by arguments and protests merely, but by an appeal to arms. Full of this sentiment, Mr. Monroe was called, upon a casual vacancy, when it was least expected by himself or the country, to the head of the Department of State. That senti-

ment, and the feelings which we have thus accounted for, Mr. Monroe soon communicated to his associates in the Cabinet, and in some degree, it might well be supposed, to the great statesman then at the head of the Government."

The last paragraph furnishes an explanation of the allusion in Mr. Moore's postscript to the letter which follows.

GAILLARD HUNT.

WILLIAM W. MOORE TO RICHARD K. CRALLÉ.

Office National Intelligencer,
WASHINGTON, January 12, 1854.

Richard K. Crallé, Esq.

Dear Sir: The continued disability of Mr. Gales, in being deprived of the use of his right hand, has prevented, and still prevents him from replying *autographically* to your letter of the 27th ultimo, and he has therefore communicated to me the necessary information to enable me to answer, on his behalf, the inquiries contained in your letter.

The War Manifesto reported in the House of Rep^s on the third of June, 1812, was the production of Mr. Munroe. Of this Mr. Gales is positively certain, as well from other knowledge as from his familiarity with the handwriting in which the Report is written, being that of Mr. Munroe's Private Secretary and Confidential Clerk. The Select Committee by which this report was made had the subject referred to them at the close of the day's sitting on the 1st of June, and submitted their report on the opening of the House on the 3^d of June, which fact, taken in connexion with the importance of the subject and the conciseness of the statements of the report, sufficiently indicate the improbability that the committee could, within the brief time that intervened after the reference, have deliberated upon the subject, prepared this report, and had it copied. The committee consisted of Messrs. Porter, Calhoun, Grundy, Smilie, Randolph, Harper, Key, Desha, and Seaver. Mr. Porter, the chairman, was called home in consequence of sickness in his family, and did not return to his seat in Congress for some time afterwards, if at all. The names of the Republicans who made the war report are underscored in the foregoing list of the committee. If Mr. Porter had been present he would have sustained the report. Mr. Dallas had nothing to do with this report. He was not in Washington at the time, and did not enter the Cabinet till some two years afterwards.

That your wish to be supplied with the sheets of the "Annals" relating to this interesting branch of our national history, which will enable you no doubt to connect and explain many of the events of that time, will be complied with, I trust you will already have been furnished with some evidence in the receipt of the parcel already sent, and which were dispatched before your letter came to hand. When others are

ready I shall endeavor to have them franked by the Representative from your District.

Mr. Gales requested me to inform you that he will cheerfully afford you every aid in his power in the preparation of your work and that you must not hesitate in submitting any point upon which you desire information.

I mail to your address herewith a copy of the *Intelligencer* of the 3^d of Sept. last, containing a Speech of Mr. Randolph, in the Notes appended to which, prepared by Mr. Gales with the aid of an amanuensis, is some reference to Mr. Monroe's agency in the War of 1812 which you may have overlooked. A letter has been received by Mr. Gales, since the publication of that speech, from a gentleman who was a confidential member of the Government at the time the Speech was made, entirely confirming the impressions stated in the "Notes" that Mr. Monroe was the author of the war Report.

Respectfully and very truly yrs. etc.

WM. W. MOORE

The above letter is in the handwriting
of my son, who copied it for me.

Jan. 20.—The above letter has been detained since its date that I might find leisure to search for an unpublished article written by Mr. Gales two or three years ago, from which I send you two or three extracts. These, as well as this letter, it is needless to say, are transmitted for your private information and guidance, but not for publication. In regard to the extracts, I heard Mr. Gales remark, at the time he prepared them, and also since then, that if ever he found time to write a book on the subject, they should form part of it. Would to Heaven his health would permit him to write such a volume! It would be one of a most interesting character. I send the extracts, of course, with his knowledge; but, *without his knowledge*, (as he is not here at the office,) I deem it not improper to say to you confidentially, that they formed a part of several columns of interesting historical matter, written at the request and for the use of an éminent *living* statesman, who found it necessary to use only a portion of the matter thus furnished. Relying alone upon my memory, I think that no part of the extracts herewith sent were used, and, if any, only a few sentences; and this is the reason why I now disclose to you the secret history of their preparation, that, in the event of any of these statements having before met your eye, you will be duly informed of their origin, and of the weight that should be given them.

Trusting that this long epistle has not wearied you,

I remain, etc.

WM. W. MOORE

R. K. Crallé, Esq.

Extracts from an unpublished article of Mr. Gales's.

When Congress assembled in Nov. 1811, the crisis was upon us. But, as may be readily imagined, it could be no easy matter to nerve the heart of Congress, all unprepared for the dread encounter, to take the step, which there could be no retracing, of a Declaration of War. Nor could that task, in all probability, ever have been accomplished but for the concurrence, purely accidental, of two circumstances. . . . Mr. Monroe had returned but a year or two before from a course of public service abroad, in which, as Minister Plenipotentiary, he had represented the United States at the several Courts, in succession, of France, Spain, and Great Britain. From the last of these missions he had come home, thoroughly disgusted with the contemptuous manner in which the rights of the United States were treated by the belligerent Powers, and especially by England. This treatment, which even extended to the personal intercourse between their Ministers and the Representatives of this country, he considered as indicative of a settled determination on their part, presuming upon the supposed incapacity of this Government for war, to *reduce to system* a course of conduct which, though perhaps begun by chance, had grown into a habit. Reasoning thus, he had brought his mind to a serious and firm conviction that the rights of the U. States as a nation would never be respected by the Powers of the Old World until this Government summoned up resolution to resent such usage, not by arguments and protests merely, but by an appeal to arms. His mind full of this sentiment, Mr Monroe was called, upon a casual vacancy, when it was least expected by himself or the country, to the head of the Dep^t of State. That sentiment, and the feelings which we have thus accounted for, Mr. Monroe soon communicated to his associates in the Cabinet, and, in some degree, it might well be supposed, to the great statesman then at the head of the Government.

The tone of Pres^t Madison's first message to Congress, (Nov^r 5, 1811,) a few months only after Mr. Monroe's accession to the Cabinet, can leave hardly a doubt in any mind of such having been the case. That message was throughout of the gravest cast, reciting the aggressions and aggravations of Great Britain as demanding resistance, and urging upon Congress the duty of putting the country "into the armor and attitude demanded by the crisis and corresponding with national spirit and expectations."

Whilst Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, and others, within the walls of the Capitol, were breaking lances with the opponents of the preparation for war, there was in operation, at the further end of the avenue, an influence less publicly exerted, but not less potent, upon the hearts and understandings of the younger Members of the House of Rep^s, and especially upon those who composed the Com^{ee} on Foreign Relations. Comparatively young and inexperienced in National affairs, they nat-

urally resorted to Mr Monroe, who might be termed, without a hyperbole, the Nestor of the day, for information and advice as to the affairs of which, as Secretary of State, he was the official depository, and for the lessons of experience which he had acquired by long service abroad. To these gentlemen, in frequent private consultations, principally at his own abode in the long winter nights, he constantly repeated the deep conviction of which I have already spoken, of the infinite disgrace which would infallibly attend a longer submission to foreign insult and outrage; replying, night after night, to every suggestion of postponement, delay, or renewed attempts at negotiation, "Gentlemen, *we must fight*. We are forever disgraced if we do not;" disgraced in our own estimation, in the eyes of our adversary, "and in the opinion of the world."

In the face of a vigorous opposition, both Houses had finally passed several bills, which had become laws, for raising an army and enlarging the navy, with all the necessary adjuncts required for active military and naval operations, and authorizing a loan to carry into effect these measures.

Chiefly through the fearless influence of the counsels of these ardent patriots, the House of Rep^s, on whose decision, as the originator of all measures of revenue, the prosecution of a war must depend, was gradually warmed up to a war spirit. But the actual Declaration of war had not yet been proposed. The Pres^t had, not from any backwardness on his part, or doubt in regard to the necessity of a resort to arms, but deterred by a remaining doubt in his mind as to the House sustaining the Executive in a declaration of war, hesitated to recommend the measure.

More than six months had passed since Congress met, and the question of actual war was still in suspense. At length, after private conference, a deputation of Members of Congress, with Mr. Clay at their head,² waited upon the President, and, upon the representations of the readiness of a majority of Congress to vote the war if recommended, the Pres^{dnt}, on the first Monday in June, transmitted to Congress his message submitting that question to their decision. The agency of Mr. Monroe in this measure was not yet at an end; for the Com^{ee} on Foreign Relations, to whom the President's message was referred, had prevailed upon the Secretary, as being more fully possessed than themselves of the facts and merits of the question, to prepare a Report upon the message; which Report was presented to the House of Reps. by the

² Here doubtless is the origin of the story repeated again and again by historical writers that the delegation called upon Madison and made an infamous bargain with him, promising him a renomination for the presidency in return for a war message, and that he reluctantly consented. See Hildreth, VI. 298; McMaster, III. 445; Von Holst, I. 230; Gay's *Madison*, 308; also for a truer account, Adams's *Gallatin*, 434, and Hunt's *Madison*, 316 ff. No author has thus far viewed the incident in the light in which the Gales narrative places it.

committee, as their report, on the second day after the reception of the message, and had been (from its length) evidently prepared, if not adopted, by the Committee before the message was sent in. It was an elaborate Manifesto, filling ten or twelve printed pages, and concluding in the following language, which no one who had ever heard Mr Munroe discourse upon the subject, could doubt to have been his:³

Enclosed to R. K. Crallé, Esq

January 20, 1854, by

Wm. W. Moore

The matter is copied in the handwriting of my son.

Wm. W. Moore

2. Robert Barnwell Rhett on the Biography of Calhoun, 1854

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT, who wrote this letter, was born at Beaufort, South Carolina, December 24, 1800, and died in Louisiana, September 12, 1876. His name was Smith, but in 1837 he adopted the name of Rhett. He served in Congress from 1837 to 1849 and succeeded Calhoun in the Senate. He went to Louisiana after the Civil War and a few years before his death was principal in a duel in which he killed his opponent.

The biography alluded to, a brochure of 74 pages, entitled *Life of John C. Calhoun, presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1843), was published as a part of the Calhoun propaganda for the presidential nomination, but it is far above the style of ordinary political literature, and has been the basis of much of the information concerning his life. The final paragraph of the brochure speaks of the friendship of the author for Calhoun and closes (the italics being

³ "Your committee, believing that the free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, and seeing in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which must lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force, in which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and to the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, your committee recommend an immediate appeal to arms."

Cf. the following:

"Nothing would satisfy the present Ministry of England short of unconditional submission, which it was impossible to make. This fact being completely ascertained the only remaining alternative was to get ready for fighting, and to begin as soon as we were ready. This was the plan of the administration when Congress met in December last; the President's message announce it; and every step taken by the administration since has led to it." Monroe to Taylor, June 18, 1812, *Writings* (ed. Hamilton), V. 205.

in the original): "*His [the author's] statements of facts and opinion he knows to be entirely authentic*, and after a deliberate review of every sentence and word he has written, he finds nothing which a reverence for justice and truth will allow him to alter." This *Life* has always heretofore been attributed to R. M. T. Hunter, Senator from Virginia 1847 to 1861, and Secretary of State to the Confederacy.¹

GAILLARD HUNT.

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT TO RICHARD K. CRALLÉ.

SULLIVANS ISLAND Oct 25 1854

My Dear Sir

It seems to me your course is very plain as to the Documents you mention. You are publishing the works of Mr. Calhoun. You should exercise a sound discretion as to what you should publish. But if you publish any matter which flowed from his pen, you should publish it as he wrote it. If *he* made corrections, insert them. But if others made corrections, the corrections ought to be rejected. In the Exposition for instance, it was greatly altered by the Committee who reported it to the Legislature of which I was one. Mr. Calhoun had nothing to do with these corrections and I know disapproved of them. I think you ought to include in your publication his Addresses to the People of the U. S. and South Carolina. He wished to have put them forth. They were read to the South Carolina Delegation in Congress to obtain their judgment upon them. They were suppressed, and greatly to his mortification and indignation. Publish them by all means. So his letter on Disunion There is but one thing written by Mr. Calhoun that you ought not to publish as his—and that is—"his life." He wished me to Father it—but I told him, that it was impossible for me directly or indirectly to allow any one to understand that I was the author of a publication which I had not written. Hunter and I read it over together in my house in Georgetown. He inserted about a page and a half, and became the putative author; and it has done more to lift him to his present position than any thing else in his public life.

Are you going to write his life. If you are there are many things which ought to be unveiled. For instance do you know that when Tyler first quarrelled with the Whigs, he offered the office of Secy of State to Mr C—— with a carte-blanche as to the Cabinet. Hunter and I both urged Mr. C—— with all our might to take it. But after anxious consideration he declined it—one of the greatest blunders he ever committed. Wise knows I presume all about it—and of course Tyler. Dan Hamilton applied summer before last for two Documents

¹ Calhoun writes to his daughter, *Correspondence*, p. 524, "Mr. Hunter has rewritten most of the [sketch]; so much so as fairly to be entitled to the authorship"; but he says nothing of the original writer.

in my possession—one a letter of Mr. Calhoun as to the course South Carolina should pursue, if the other Southern States abandoned him in the controversy of 1850—the other was the curious proceeding by which the Southern Rights Senators in the Senate of the U. S. signed a paper pledging themselves, to defeat the Bill admitting California *by any means the majority of them* should determine on. Yet when the point came, they backed out—the Virginia Senators and the South Carolina Senators going against any measures whatever. This was the true cause of the failure of the South in that great controversy, and it is due to history and truth that the matter should be known. Did Hamilton give you these Documents, and do you intend to embody them in your life of Mr. Calhoun?

I assure you, it would give me great pleasure to assist you in any way in your labours of friendship to our great departed friend. Altho', my who[le] public-life seems to me to have been a failure and to have ended in vanity, yet I thank God, that so much of it, was spent in association with one so worthy of my esteem and admiration. I differed with him on two occasions—the election of Taylor, and the Mexican war. But in the last struggle of his and my political life, we came together again. We fought for the South. He fell dead in the cause—I, living. Had he lived we would together have conquered. As it is—neither of us will be able to vindicate ourselves. But time will do it for us—at least for him, for my name will be too feeble to be connected with his great fame. The Southern People have but one alternative—Independence, or ruin. Under the Union as it exists, our doom is certain.

I thank you for your kind invitation, and should I again visit Virginia, I shall surely avail myself of it.

Yours Dear Sir most truly

R. B. RHETT.

Mr. Rich^d. K. Cralle

P. S. The manuscript you speak of was sent to a Committee in Charleston Elmore Gourdin Cronin and others. I was on Sullivan's Island, a fugitive from Yellow fever with my family. As soon as I can go to Charleston I will see to it. The letter of Mr. Calhoun on our State Constitution, to which Judge Emory refers, I will send to you. It was published this summer in "The South Carolinian" in Columbia, and has contributed largely in rallying public opinion in the late elections.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Law: Its Origin, Growth and Function. Being a Course of Lectures Prepared for Delivery before the Law School of Harvard University. By JAMES COOLIDGE CARTER, LL.D., of the New York Bar. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. vii, 355.)

WHEN Mr. Carter died in 1905, he had undoubtedly for many years been generally regarded as the leader of the American Bar. Although he was never a politician, he was more than a mere lawyer, and took a prominent part in many of the great civic movements of the day. Among these he became intensely interested in the efforts made during a series of years to bring about the adoption in New York of the code of substantive law, drafted by David Dudley Field. Being convinced not merely that the particular code was defective in form and substance, but also that any attempt at general codification was not only unwise, but futile, he threw himself into the opposition with all the force and ardor of a man of his great strength and abiding convictions. In the course of this opposition, he was led to think and read widely on the nature, origin and function of law, and to form very definite and positive opinions, which found expression at various times, before and after the Field Code had been defeated, in a number of pamphlets and addresses. Among these was a series entitled, *The Proposed Codification of our Common Law*; an address before the Virginia State Bar Association, upon *The Provinces of the Written and Unwritten Law*; and later, a memorable address before the American Bar Association upon *The Ideal and the Actual in the Law*.

Upon his retirement from active practice, he determined to write and publish a more complete expression of his views, but at the suggestion of President Eliot he was led to put them into the form of a series of lectures to be delivered before the Law School of Harvard University. The first draft of these lectures had barely been completed, when Mr. Carter was overtaken by the sudden illness from which he died, and these unrevised and undelivered lectures constitute the book before us. The lectures, as would be anticipated from the proposed occasion, are general in their nature and couched in non-technical language. They make no contribution to legal history. Mr. Carter adopts, for his purposes, the views and conclusions generally held by others.

These lectures make no such attempt to determine the province of jurisprudence, as was the purpose of the painful and laborious logic of John Austin. They contain no such searching analysis of legal ideas as is to be found in the classical treatise of Professor Holland. Their force is spent upon the general theorem, that "the whole private law, which governs much the larger part of human conduct, has arisen from and still stands upon custom, and is the necessary product of the life of society, and therefore incapable of being made at all." Or, as he states it in another place, that "Law is self-created and self-existent, and can neither be made nor abrogated, however it may be, in some degree, incidentally shaped, enlarged and modified, by legislation." To the demonstration of this theorem, Mr. Carter brings in cumulative form the arguments and illustrations which he had advanced many times before.

Whether one agrees with him or not, the book is of great interest as an expression of the deliberate and mature conviction of one of the most thoroughly trained and powerful legal minds which this country has yet produced. A wider knowledge of its views could not fail to have a salutary effect upon the all too prevalent and mischievous notion that most of the evils which exist in the world can be cured by legislation, and that men can be made good and honest by mere act of Parliament.

FLOYD R. MECHEM.

Thucydides Mythistoricus. By FRANCIS MACDONALD CORNFORD, Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: Edward Arnold. 1907. Pp. xvi, 252.)

THIS book falls into two distinct parts—Thucydides Historicus, and Thucydides Mythicus. The first part attempts to prove the complete inadequacy of Thucydides's account of the origin of the Peloponnesian War, and develops "a very different theory of the real causes of the war". The second part attempts an answer to the question "why Thucydides has told us about this matter . . . so exceedingly little that appears to us relevant". Baldly stated, this sounds iconoclastic, but nothing can be more reverent than the author's treatment of the greatest historian of antiquity, on whose mind, methods and work he has shed much new and welcome light. One may dissent from the main propositions of this stimulating study, and yet be grateful for the richness and fullness of its suggestion. It has the brilliant ingenuity and the tantalizing inconclusiveness to be expected in an ardent pupil and admirer of Professor Verrall.

For, after all, is Thucydides's account of the origin of the Peloponnesian War "remarkably inadequate"? He set out to tell how, not why it originated. In the long retrospect, for the historian's account was undoubtedly written after the close of the long struggle, Sparta's jealousy of Athens is the dominant element of hostility and has been

allowed to obscure the more malignant commercial jealousy which Corinth felt towards Athens in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, and which was the immediate cause of the first, or Archidamian War, inasmuch as it was clearly this which drove the Spartans into the war. This is the only correction which needs to be made in the estimate of Thucydides, and he himself furnishes the material for the correction. This has been ably set forth by Eduard Meyer (*Forschungen*, II. 296-326).

Thucydides protests against the popular idea, that Pericles, for personal reasons, deliberately precipitated the war by proposing and carrying the decree excluding the Megarians from the harbors of the Athenian empire. That was, of course, a violation of the treaty of 445, but it was the reply of Pericles to the still more flagrant violation of the treaty by Corinth in her succor of Potidaea, a rebellious city of the Athenian empire. The object of the decree was to show, by a stroke at the most vital commercial interest of Corinth, that while Athens deprecated war, she would not refuse it if it were forced upon her. By consummate diplomacy she had avoided committing an act of war in the struggle between Corinth and Corcyra. But she had inflicted a fatal blow upon the commercial supremacy of Corinth in the West, and war was sure to come. Athens would not begin the war, in which, since Pericles insisted upon a purely defensive policy, no glory or additional territory was to be won; but she would not yield to any humiliating demands from the enemy, and such the demand to rescind the Megarian decree surely was, and was intended to be, as was the demand to expel the Alcmaeonid "pollution", and still more the demand to abandon her empire. Thucydides makes it clear, by reiteration, that Pericles did not desire war, and did not precipitate war, but merely heartened his countrymen up to the point of declining an insulting ultimatum. Here, as ever, "he led, rather than was led by them".

The Megarian decree, as Mr. Cornford contends, was not the main issue, but Corinthian commercial supremacy in the West, and that had already been destroyed by the defensive alliance of Athens with Corcyra, for which the succor of Potidaea was retaliation. All this is made perfectly clear by Thucydides, although he is reticent about and no doubt ignorant of the economic details underlying this struggle for the commerce of the West. Here Mr. Cornford's study brings much welcome light, as Ferrero has shed new light on the economic problems of the Roman revolution. For such details an ancient historian has no eye. Nor can we follow Mr. Cornford in his contention that the great Sicilian expedition was already on the cards of a "party of the Piraeus", and was practically forced upon Pericles by that party along with the Megarian decree. If any one could be tempted to project too far back in Athenian politics the fatal design of a conquest of Sicily, it would surely be the historian who has made so august a tragedy of his story of the attempt. If he does not "read the origin of the war

in the light of the Sicilian expedition", it is not because preoccupation with "mythical" topics diverts his mind from essential factors in the economic situation, but because he knows that the great infatuation had not spread among his countrymen before the death of Pericles sufficiently to become a political factor.

With the second part of his study, Thucydides Mythicus, Mr. Cornford renders valuable aid to the proper understanding of the artistic side of the work of Thucydides. Especially does he help to an explanation of the artistic gulf which yawns between the first three books and books IV. to VII. In the former, the author deals with facts in the dry, severe manner of the annalist. In the latter, facts "win over into the mythical"; the external form of the history shows conscious imitation of tragedy; the technical construction and the psychology of the Aeschylean drama are extensively adopted. There is a *Tychê* at work personally in the affair of Pylos; a *Peithô*, or *Apatê*, incarnate in Cleon, tempts the Athens which the *Tychê* of Pylos has intoxicated; *Eros*, the tyrant passion, incarnate in Alcibiades, drags the tempted city to her Reversal of Fortune at Syracuse. "To Thucydides the Ionian tradition of Epos and story-telling is anathema; his introduction is a judicial and earnest polemic against it and all its works. . . . It is to the religious drama which grew up at Dionysus' festivals in Pelasgian Athens, not to the Epos which had flowered at the Ionian gatherings and now was overblown, that Thucydides turns for his inspiration."

B. PERRIN.

Storia dei Romani. La Conquista del Primato in Italia. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. In two volumes. (Milano, Torino and Roma: Fratelli Bocca. 1907. Pp. xii, 458; viii, 575.)

ONE result of the growth of the national spirit in united Italy is the increasing interest displayed by Italian scholars in the early history of their country and especially of Rome. This is illustrated very strikingly by the publication within a decade of the first parts of two general histories, covering practically the same period, from the founding of the city to the conquest of the peninsula. The first of these, Païs's *Storia di Roma*, was widely discussed and aroused considerable opposition because of the author's extreme scepticism in regard to the credibility of Roman history down to the Samnite wars, and also because of the ingenious but not always convincing combinations by which he explained the growth of the accepted tradition. On the whole, however, Païs's critical principles approved themselves to the majority of scholars, and his work is the most important contribution to the subject since Mommsen.

After an interval of only eight years comes De Sanctis, whose aim is made clear in the dedication of the present work to Beloch, where he says that the field of Roman history is now the scene of a noisy con-

fluct between a blind traditionalism and an equally blind desire to deny the credibility of all tradition at any cost. As Païs is the protagonist of the sceptics, a continual comparison of the two writers is inevitable. Païs is the brilliant destructive critic, who by virtue of his intellectual attitude, must perforce go to extremes. De Sanctis is the more sober observer, who with less critical acumen and originality would be glad to reconstruct out of the chaos left by his predecessor something that might fairly represent the truth so far as we can perhaps ever know it. He is less radical than Païs in his attitude toward the regal period, and considerably less so in his estimate of the amount of truth contained in the traditional account of the first century of the republic, but he is as far as possible from being a reactionary, and appears conservative only where Païs's scepticism is most radical. Thus he accepts the authenticity of the decemviral legislation, but rejects the details concerning the personnel and conduct of the board itself. The story of the embassy to Greece is an aetiological myth invented to account for the supposed elements of Greek legislation to be found in the Twelve Tables, and the tale of Appius Claudius and Virginia is only a bit of popular poetry. The history of the agrarian struggles and legislation of the fifth and fourth centuries is dismissed with the contemptuous statement (II. 13) that all these accounts, so tediously alike and dry, which become paler and paler as we approach the really historical period, deserve no credence whatever.

De Sanctis's treatment of the beginnings of Rome is very comprehensive, as may be inferred from the titles of the first chapters in his book—Italy and its Earliest Inhabitants, the Indo-Europeans in Italy, the Etruscans in the Po Valley and the Civilization of the Villa Nova Period. So too in the second volume much attention is devoted to the early history of Sicily and the Greek colonies. He is conversant with the results of recent archaeological and palaeontological research, and makes more use of them, especially of the latter, than any previous historian who has attempted to write a general history.

The internal history of the early republic, that of the political development of the commonwealth, is treated by De Sanctis with no great novelty in method or results. Any attempt to harmonize the conflicting statements in our sources about the political movements that resulted in the established order of the later republic is sure to be unsatisfactory. We know the results, and we can infer with certainty what general tendencies must have been at work, but the steps in the struggle between the classes are only conjectural. There is no agreement even now as to the constitution of the plebs. Still less satisfactory is the traditional account of the conquest of the peninsula, any analysis of which exhibits countless discrepancies and repetitions. Fortunately for the reader, details of this sort do not appeal strongly to De Sanctis, and he devotes as little space to their recital as general consent would probably allow any historian.

Of course there is not a chapter in the book that does not contain statements that may easily be challenged. We are dealing almost everywhere with varying degrees of probability rather than with ascertained facts. In general, however, De Sanctis seems to have succeeded in so guarding his statements and fortifying them with arguments which are at least plausible that the critic is more or less disarmed. He believes thoroughly in the existence of a considerable body of early popular poetry, from which were drawn the legends that afterwards became part of the accepted history of the Romans, and he asserts (II. 502) that we can form some idea of this poetry because we can reconstruct more than one of the old ballads from the traditional stories, eliminating only the falsifications and additions of the annalists. To this origin he attributes without hesitation the stories of Cincinnatus, Coriolanus, the defeat of the Fabii, Porsenna, Lucretia, the reason for the descent of the Gauls into Italy, the attack of the Gauls on the Capitol, the interference of Camillus, the duel between Manlius and the Gaul and many other famous tales. In fact, the application of this theory is one of the striking features of the book, for the author seems at times to carry it almost as far as Niebuhr did, and to lay himself open to the same objections.

Within the limits assigned to this review, no criticism whatever of any of De Sanctis's conclusions or opinions can be made, but I can not refrain from calling attention to his estimate of the one man whose personality seems to appeal to him, Pyrrhus, whom he compares (II. 416) to Alexander the Great to the disadvantage of the latter.

While De Sanctis's book is not as original or attractive as that of Pais, it is distinctly useful and well done, and Italian classical scholarship is to be congratulated on the production of such *κτῆματα ἐς ἀεί* as these two works are likely to prove.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Regesta Pontificum Romanorum. Iubente Regia Societate Göttingensi congressit PAULUS FRIDOLINUS KEHR. Tomus I. *Italia Pontificia sive Repertorium Privilegiorum et Literarum a Romanis Pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Civitatibus Singulisque Personis Concessorum.* I. Roma; II. Latium. (Berolini: apud Weidmannos. 1906. 1907. Pp. xxvi, 201; xxx, 230.)

In view of its new critical edition of the privileges and letters of the Roman pontiffs inaugurated some ten years ago by the Göttingen Academy and confided to Dr. Paul Fridolin Kehr, this learned body found it necessary to begin with a new edition of Jaffé's *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. In one way or another many new documents have seen the light, even since the second edition of Jaffé (1885-1888); new

sources of medieval papal correspondence have been opened, and much new pertinent material published. Moreover, Jaffé's *Regesta*, stupendous as it was for the time when it first appeared (1851) as the work of one unaided scholar, has, in both editions, grave defects. It lacks a list of the addressees of the enormous, though fragmentary, papal correspondence, and it reposes, to a great extent, on the printed works accessible to Jaffé and his later editors rather than on the original manuscripts or any serious efforts to reach a stage of tradition very close to them. In the two *fasciculi* before us the material of Jaffé is recast; the chronological order is abandoned for a logical order, *i. e.*, the papal documents of the *Regesta* are distributed under the titles of the churches, monasteries and persons to whom they are addressed, so that it is easy to control at once all known papal correspondence with corporations or persons, *i. e.*, up to 1198, the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III., at which date Jaffé closed his labors. In the first of these volumes Dr. Kehr includes only the 586 papal documents pertaining to the city of Rome—its basilicas, churches, chapels and oratories (according to the regional division), including, however, a few addressed to Roman patrician families or dealing with municipal interests. In the second volume are found 677 papal documents addressed to the various churches and monasteries of Latium (taken in the medieval historico-ecclesiastical sense), and distributed under 25 diocesan titles, the 7 *suburbicariae*, 8 in the Roman Campagna and 10 in Roman Tuscany. In the last decade every effort has been made by Dr. Kehr to obtain the best manuscript authority for the documents thus rearranged, and in many cases he has been successful in his long and arduous *iter Italicum*. Each volume, besides an index of the addressees, contains an "elenchus pontificum romanorum quorum acta in hoc volumine continentur", or a table (in five columns) of the popes, whose documents are quoted, the addressees of each pope's privileges or letters, the dates of the documents, the page and number where found in this edition, the corresponding references in the second edition of Jaffé, and diacritical marks by which the reader may know that a given document is lost or merely known to have existed, also, on occasion, that Dr. Kehr considers it spurious, and moreover, whether the originals (*autographa*) still exist. The mere enunciation of the elements of this table suffices to show its immediate practical utility to every student of local papal history, and indeed to students of canon law, ecclesiastical archaeology and the fine arts. But there is more. The documents in each class, or rather subdivision, of addressees are preceded by a select critical list of specially useful works, amounting in the two volumes to an extensive bibliographical introduction to the history of the Roman basilicas, churches and monasteries, as well as of those of the immediate vicinity. Brief historical *notitiae* follow these bibliographies and serve as an orientation in the use of the documents that follow. Each summarized document, numbered as described, and dated, is fol-

lowed by the indication of its oldest manuscript or best printed authorities; the manuscript sources are properly described, and there follow occasionally brief critical remarks, the *nota* of spuriousness, cross-references, etc. No serious student of medieval Rome and vicinity, in any of their phases, can afford henceforth to be without the *Italia Pontificia*. If Jaffé's *Regesta* in its earlier form rendered great service to all workers in medieval history, in its new form, now available for Rome and Medieval Latium, it will render much greater service. No more attractive vestibule could be constructed for the vast edifice of medieval papal history. Future generations of historical students and research-workers will have every reason to remember with gratitude the author of a work that was not constructed without long and close devotion, much physical labor and the highest skill in the use of the delicate mental machinery now indispensable for the critical edition of ancient documents.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Israel in Europe. By G. F. ABBOTT, Knight Commander of the Hellenic Order of the Saviour. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 533.)

THE history of Israel in Europe differs in every fundamental particular from that of the other tribes and races that have passed from Asia across the Bosphorus. Every other people, provided always that it succeeded in saving itself from being absorbed by its neighbors, fastened on a more or less permanent territory, organized a government, maintained amicable or hostile relations with its neighbors, occupied itself with the arts and developed a civilization—these various matters, in fact, constitute its history, as we understand the term. Such obvious interests do not enter into the history of Israel in Europe. From the time when the bolt of war destroyed their temple, the Jews have had no state, no arts, no civilization, nothing at all constituting an acknowledged element of national history, except a religion, which, as antedating their invasion of Europe, lay outside the range of the present author's inquiry. His book, in consequence, reduces itself to a record of persecution varying in form and intensity through the ages, but uninterrupted from the day when Zion lay prostrate before the Emperor Titus, and though meeting at times with apparent success, terminating invariably in substantial failure before a stubbornness, endurance and racial exaltation which are without example.

In such a story of the persistent conflict of European and Asiatic prejudice, our first demand is for fairness. This demand the author succeeds in satisfying; in fact, strange as it may sound, he more than satisfies it; for, gratified with the consciousness of an uncommon virtue, he cannot refrain from accompanying the record of each fresh act of violence with sad reflections on the hopeless enslavement of men to hatred, exclusiveness, blood-thirst and all the narrow vices of primitive society. Moral attitudes, however splendid and superior, have

a disappointing way of missing their effect through iteration. Not only is the author's fervor of righteousness chargeable with some dull pages, but it accounts for a serious defect of composition. Concerned with moralizing, he cannot bother about mere facts. In the early sections, indeed, it is different. The chapters dealing with Hebraism in the colonial world are an admirably sober and critical story of the sowing of those dragon's teeth of prejudice from which sprung the giant brood of later days. In the medieval period reflection begins to gain the upper hand, until, when the nineteenth century is reached, the reader must laboriously fish up every penny-worth of fact out of a veritable ocean of comment.

If the author has, generally speaking, mistaken the relative importance of fact and discussion suitable to a work of history, he falls into another error when he fails to appreciate at its full value the Jewish Renaissance. Incomparably the most important event in the existence of the Hebrew race in Europe befell when, in the eighteenth century, Moses Mendelssohn proclaimed that the Jews must abandon the figment of being a people chosen and apart, and must become Europeanized. For seventeen hundred years they had maintained an isolation, splendid, perhaps, from more than one point of view, but terrible in the persecution which it invited and more terrible still in the dehumanization which it effected of the Jews themselves. Cut off from civilizing influences, what, except the human forms, distinguished the folk of the Ghetto from the beasts of the field? The Talmud, worshiped as a source of light, suspended a darkness over them wide and deep as Erebus. Out of this bondage to a book, worse than the bondage of Egypt, Mendelssohn, named Moses by a prophetic father, pointed a way by urging participation in the civilizing labors of Europe. Blot out seventeen centuries of Jewish history, and Europe would not be, except for the single Spinoza, himself an ostracized Jew, a jot the poorer; Mendelssohn's movement has effected a complete change. The Jewish share in modern life is immense and in a Jewish history deserves detailed consideration. Let no one look for it in these pages. Obsessed by his idea of persecution, the author cannot spare the space to recount the positive labors of the Jew in the field of letters, journalism, finance, invention and pure science.

These defects are offset by a personal enthusiasm and vivacity of tone unusual in a work of encyclopedic character. We relish the same, even though the dish arrests our appetite. The author frankly admits the derivation of his work from secondary authorities. If he had wrestled with the facts in the sources, his text might have profited, among other ways, by being somewhat less insistent on the animating theme of the total depravity of man.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires Français ou relatifs à l'Histoire de France. [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique, IV.]

Par HENRI STEIN. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1907. Pp. xv, 627.)

THE great value of cartularies as historical sources has long been recognized by investigators. A large proportion of the documentary materials relating to the Middle Ages and early modern times has come down to us only in this form, and without the aid of such collections no one can hope to penetrate far into the institutional life or the economic and social history of these periods. The comparatively few cartularies, however, which have been printed have generally been brought out in little-known local publications, and the unprinted collections, even for a limited district, are often widely scattered, so that there are few fields where the student stands more in need of bibliographical assistance. How generously such aid is rendered in the present volume is at once evident from its amplitude—4,522 numbers—in contrast to the meagre lists hitherto available. The term cartulary M. Stein quite properly restricts to collections of documents which, whatever their provenance, relate to a particular establishment, institution, or locality, thus ruling out registers, inventories and miscellaneous assortments to which the word has often been applied; but he includes both civil and ecclesiastical establishments, and factitious modern collections as well as those which were formed in the Middle Ages. Moreover he has extended the boundaries of France to cover adjoining territory which has at one time or another come under French influence, thereby comprehending Belgium, French Switzerland, and Germany west of the Rhine, as well as, though inadequately, the Spanish march. The bibliography is more than a simple list of titles. Shelf-numbers are given for manuscripts and exact information concerning printed collections, and the author has also got together a large body of references to later copies and extracts, a task which will earn him the gratitude of all who appreciate how largely we are indebted to the scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the preservation of documents which have since disappeared, and how difficult it often is to get track of these copies. Care has likewise been taken to note cartularies whose whereabouts are no longer known, in the hope that some of them may still come to light—a pious wish which we should like to repeat and extend to certain Norman cartularies which have escaped M. Stein's notice, namely a cartulary of Fécamp of the twelfth century, extracts from which are found in the Collection Moreau, and one or more cartularies of Lire, cited in the same collection and in the papers of Dom Lenoir and printed in part in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

It would be strange not to find some gaps in a work covering so wide a field, in spite of the hope which the author seems to cherish that the only additions to be made, apart from volumes in private hands, will be small fascicules lurking in the unsorted bundles of certain

archives. The reviewer has noted the following omissions in the field he knows best, that of the Norman cartularies: Cartulary of the chapter of Rouen (Rouen Library, MS. 1193); cartulary of the see of Bayeux, in the chapter library, MSS. 206-208; minor cartularies of Bayeux cathedral, in the same library, MSS. 199, 202, 204; *Cartularium Decani et Capituli de Baiocis*, in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham, MS. 21709; certain minor collections for St. Ouen in the archives of the Seine-Inférieure; the papers of Hippeau and the copies from Carlton Castle relating to St. Étienne of Caen, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the collections of the Abbé de LaRue concerning Caen in the public library and the Collection Mancel at Caen; the copies of Pierre Mangon relating to the Cotentin and adjacent portions of lower Normandy, now in the public library at Grenoble; and the papers of the Norman antiquaries Deville, Le Prévost and Léchaudé d'Anisy, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Norman rolls in the Public Record Office are as much entitled to mention as the Gascon rolls.

More serious than such omissions, because likely to deceive investigators, are the erroneous statements concerning the contents of cartularies. M. Stein has had the excellent idea of indicating the chronological limits of many of the cartularies he cites, but it is plain that this has often been done without personal examination and sometimes with misleading results. Thus he gives 1218 and 1211 as the earliest respective limits of the Great and Little Cartularies of Jumièges, whereas both of them contain documents of the twelfth century. The cartulary of St. Wandrille (no. 3604 in Stein), instead of beginning in 1204, is exceedingly rich in charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The fragment of a cartulary of St. Pair in the archives of the Manche, described as containing "only texts of the fifteenth century", includes at least one piece of the eleventh (*English Historical Review*, XXII. 647). The so-called cartulary of Philippe d'Alençon (no. 3243) contains two charters of Henry I. earlier than 1131 (Round, *Calendar*, nos. 5, 7). The earliest charter in the *Livre Noir* of Bayeux cathedral is of 1036, or thereabouts, not 1066. The cartulary of Troarn in the Bibliothèque Nationale does not commence with 1101 but contains documents of William the Conqueror. The second volume of the cartulary of St. Évrout in the same library (MS. Lat. 11056) is not missing; it was there last August. MS. 114 of the library of Alençon is, unfortunately, not a copy of the lost cartulary of Cerisy, but a collection of modern pieces in French. The cartulary of Notre-Dame-du-Désert in the archives of the Eure is now numbered G. 165. Moreover, though this is not the author's fault, the references to the archives of sees and cathedrals are, or soon will be, incorrect, since the separation law hands over these records to the departmental archives, and the work of transfer is in some cases already completed.

These errors of omission and misstatement have been pointed out, not because the book is a bad one, but because it is so sure to take rank

as a standard authority that those who use it should be put on their guard against trusting too absolutely in its completeness or its accuracy. M. Stein deserves the gratitude of all students of the sources of French history for the years of patient labor which he has spent in preparing this bibliography, for the convenience of its arrangement and for the care with which it has been put through the press. He has produced an indispensable bibliographical tool, and the reviewer is glad to acknowledge the assistance which he has derived from it in his own researches.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Mediæval London. Volume II. *Ecclesiastical.* By Sir WALTER BESANT. (London: Adam and Charles Black. 1906. Pp. ix, 436.)

THE bulk of the series of books descriptive of London to which this volume belongs and the long self-devotion of its author to the study of London naturally suggest to the critic that the work should be approached from the scholar's point of view. This inclination is somewhat shaken by finding a number of "fancy pictures", like those of John granting Magna Carta, and the offer of the crown to Richard II., scattered through the work. These, however, prove to be reproductions of modern historical paintings which, although absurd, are nevertheless hung in the municipal buildings of London, and may therefore claim a corresponding place in a history of London. Moreover there are many contemporary and very interesting and useful illustrations whose value may be set over against those which are fictitious and improbable. But an examination of the text soon discloses its unscholarly character. In a bibliographical chapter it is said on page 7 that "other Chronicles translation has made accessible, such as the 'Dialogue de Scaccario', published in full in Stubbs's *Select Charters*". But the *Dialogus* is not a chronicle, it is not translated by Stubbs, it had been published long before by Madox, and its name should be given all in Latin or all in English. "Dialogue" may however be a misprint, as is the meaningless expression "news and good men", on page 22, which is probably intended for "reeve and four men".

Although this volume is described in its title as "Mediæval London, Ecclesiastical", the first of its three parts is devoted to the history of the government of the city. Chapter two in this part is a rather irrelevant comparison of two early charters of the city, taken from an essay of Mr. Round, in which the minute differences of the two charters are enumerated, but nothing done toward describing the government of the city. It is quite evident that the author did not understand Round's discussion and is entirely unfamiliar with the technical points involved; which indeed have no proper place in such an outlined account as he is giving. The numerous quotations from secondary writers are frequently very ill-chosen, as for instance those concerning the guilds, which are taken at great length from Brentano, while neither Gross

nor Ashley are mentioned. Non-contemporary sources are constantly relied on, as for instance where Fabian's chronicle, written in the fifteenth century, is quoted as authority for events which occurred in the twelfth. In general the Middle Ages are treated as a single whole and conditions characteristic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are not discriminated from those belonging to the fifteenth or sixteenth. Thus, judged as a piece of scholarly investigation the book has nothing but vexation for the student who looks to it for some addition to our knowledge of its subject. Its author has no real knowledge of the matters involved and no standards of scientific accuracy.

On the other hand, if the work is looked upon as a mere popular compilation, this judgment must be much modified. The book includes much which ought to be praised. It is not, it is true, well or clearly arranged, but many of its detached chapters and much of its widely-gathered material is interesting and suggestive. Wherever personal incidents, such as the careers of William Longbeard and Thomas Fitz-Thomas and other city worthies, enter into the story, the narrative becomes spirited and picturesque; wherever definite incidents are to be recounted, such as the instance of a trial by ordeal given on pages 192-193, the account is vivid and life-like; the descriptions of buildings and localities are clear and comprehensible. Mr. Besant's training in the writing of fiction stands him in good stead.

Generally speaking, the second part of the volume, "Ecclesiastical London", is much better than the part devoted to the history of the government of the city. The hermits, the pilgrimages, sanctuary, miracle plays, funerals and others ceremonies are told of with much vivacious illustration. The third part, making up the latter half of the book, is devoted to a systematic description of the twenty-five or thirty religious houses, which, with the cathedral, the parish churches, the hospitals and the fraternities, make up the centres of religious life in London in the Middle Ages. Relatively full and interesting accounts are given of the Charter House, Holy Trinity Priory, St. Bartholomew's, the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, St. Mary Overies, Blackfriars, Whitefriars and other monastic houses, and there are three descriptive chapters on the smaller religious houses, the hospitals and the religious fraternities. Of the last named an interesting tentative list is given in an appendix.

There is no good history of London in existence. A scholarly, adequate and continuous narrative might certainly be written; the material exists for it, largely in accessible form. The series of large handsome volumes of which this is the last installment can certainly lay no claim to having filled this demand. Moreover, this volume is less meritorious than the previous numbers of the series. Nevertheless, while we are waiting for a better book we may acknowledge that this work contains the greatest body of information, the most varied

illustrations and the handsomest outward appearance of any existing work on its subject.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Études sur l'Administration de Rome au Moyen Age (751-1252).

Par LOUIS HALPHEN. (Paris: Champion. 1907. Pp. xvi, 190.)

THOUGH in the last half-century there have been many contributions to the municipal history of medieval Rome, there was lacking hitherto a documentary and critical study covering the period from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the thirteenth century. Karl Hegel's history of the municipal constitutions of Italy (1847) is long antiquated, and Gregorovius's general history of the city of Rome (1892-1906) necessarily touches too lightly on the details of administration. Certain special researches like Rodocanachi's work on the communal institutions of medieval Rome (1901) begin too late, *i. e.*, with the fourteenth century, while the admirable studies of Charles Diehl (1888) and L. M. Hartmann (1889) on Italo-Byzantine administration stop with its disappearance from Central Italy about the middle of the eighth century. In this way the local government of Rome and its vicinity remains insufficiently illustrated during five turbulent centuries. Much useful material was brought to light in the published researches of eighteenth-century scholars. Modern editions of the medieval lives of the popes and of the papal correspondence have added to the store of available documents. The documentary histories of certain religious orders, of papal fiefs, of episcopal towns, of neighboring churches, of ancient abbeys, of ruling families, place at the disposal of the modern historian a respectable collection of public and private documents. But there is yet much unedited material to be found in the Vatican archives, and in the archives of local churches in and near Rome, in the archives of old Roman families and other repositories of medieval Roman documents. In the last thirty or forty years no little valuable material has been published in the *Archivio della Reale Società di Storia Patria* and in the *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, and important special contributions to the subject have been made. The meritorious dissertation of M. Halphen reposes on these sources, edited and unedited. It is divided into three parts, the first of which describes the municipal administration of Rome (*prefect, consul, duces, judices*) from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the twelfth century when the Roman Commune seized and finally kept a larger share of local administrative authority. In a similar way, the second part reveals, on the faith of documents henceforth somewhat more numerous and circumstantial, the municipal life of Rome as it developed (especially after 1188) under the control of the Senator, during the frequent absences and journeys of the popes, and amid the anti-papal pressure of the imperial power and the rapid development of a secular lay-temper fed from curiously mixed sources (often romantic and literary). Not the least

interesting and important of these sources is the *mentalité* of the medieval Roman people that despite numerous attempts no writer has yet outlined in a way at once accurate and picturesque, and with that touch of genius which the subject calls for. In the third part of his dissertation (pp. 89-146), M. Halphen gives a critically constructed list (420-1252) of the known officials of the early medieval or Lateran administration (the *septem iudices primicerii, secundicerii, arcarii, primi defensores, nomenclatores, saccellarii* and *protoscriniarii*, formal survivals of the imperial and Byzantine authority); also lists of the prefects of Rome from the tenth century to 1252, and of the senators of Rome from 1148 to 1252, at which date the appearance of a non-Roman senator heralds, in the judgment of M. Halphen, modifications in the concept of the municipal administration of Rome important enough to afford at least a breathing-place for the historian. M. Halphen disclaims any credit for a "tableau systématique et suivi" of Roman municipal administration in the given period. He is entitled, however, to much credit as the author of a work small in volume, but satisfactory for its method, assured results, critically digested and ordered material, judicious and helpful bibliography. It is just such a work as we should expect from a student of the French School of History and Archaeology at Rome, whose members are under the immediate guidance of Monseigneur Louis Duchesne, for whom there are few secrets in the "Forma Urbis", physical, administrative, or artistic, between Constantine the Great and Frederick II.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Institutions Politiques et Administratives des Principautés Lombardes de l'Italie Méridionale (IX^e-XI^e Siècles). Étude suivie d'un Catalogue des Actes des Princes de Bénévent et de Capoue. Par RENÉ POUPARDIN, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1907. Pp. 184.)

DR. POUPARDIN, the author of this monograph and of other important works on Lombard and Provençal history is an old student of the French School at Rome and has dedicated the fruit of his labors to Monseigneur Duchesne, the director of that noble institution. Having myself often climbed the broad stairways of the Farnese Palace and, by the courteous permission of the director, spent many fruitful hours in its well-furnished library, I heartily congratulate the school on the valuable contribution to historical science which has been made by its former alumnus.

The writer has, with praiseworthy self-denial, chosen for his field of research one of the most obscure and least attractive periods of Italian history; that which intervenes between the death of Charlemagne and the advent of the Norman conquerors of Southern Italy.

It is well known that the Frankish conquests in Italy near the end of the eighth century did not include its southern portion, the kingdom of Naples of a later day, but stopped short at the northern frontier

of that which the Lombard historian calls "The Samnite Duchy", but which is better known from its chief city as the Duchy of Benevento. Wavering between the Carolingian and Byzantine empires, and sometimes itself divided between the dynasties of Benevento, of Capua and of Salerno, that district nevertheless maintained a quasi-independence for more than two centuries till the Norman conquest of Apulia (preceding the Norman conquest of England by about forty years) imprinted its own unique character on the whole of Southern Italy.

It is to these seldom studied centuries that Dr. Poupardin has devoted his attention, mainly for the purpose of tracing the survival of Lombard law and Lombard institutions throughout that period. With this object he has compiled a catalogue of the diplomas emanating from the chanceries of the princes of Benevento and Capua: a catalogue which, for the student of this portion of history, may serve the same purpose which for the student of Anglo-Saxon history is served by Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* or Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*.

I may mention a few of the chief points touched upon by the author in his valuable preliminary observations. It is interesting to find that "it is under the name of Longobardi that the Beneventans (after the Carolingian conquest of Italy) continue to designate themselves in opposition to the Franci and the Galli, and that not only as against the inhabitants of North Italy or Gaul who composed the Imperial armies of Charlemagne or Otto, but even as against their neighbours and fellow-countrymen of the Duchy of Spoleto."

While Charlemagne, in taking the title of *Rex Longobardorum*, thought to exercise to the full the authority of his Italian predecessors over all Lombards under that designation, the dukes of Benevento showed, by dropping the title of duke and assuming that of prince, that they had no intention of recognizing any such right on his part. In fact they continued as against Charlemagne and his successors the same struggle for independence which they had previously maintained against the Lombard kings, but with much greater success than aforetime.

The life of the princes of Benevento was not a happy one. "From 774 to 1000 the greater number of them died by a violent death or were expelled to make room for usurpers." Their connection with the empire was slight. With a few exceptions the questions of succession among the Lombards were settled by election, by the association of a son with his father while still reigning, or by assassination, without the imperial or royal authority being invoked in the matter.

The Aldions, the descendants of the conquered Roman population, still remained in their semi-servile condition and were granted by the king to a nobleman or a monastery along with actual slaves or freedmen.

The early princes of Benevento kept up an almost royal state, having their *Referendarius* (Chancellor), their *Stolesaz* or Seneschal,

their *Marpahis* or Master of the Horse, and so forth. (The *Examinator* remains a mystery to our author. Is it possible that he was employed to examine the horses about to be purchased for the princely stables and thus corresponds to a veterinary surgeon of modern times?) The greater part of their grandeur disappears when, at the end of the ninth century, the hereditary prince of Benevento is dethroned by his subject Atenolf, count of Capua. These Capuan princes had no royal descent whereof to boast, but were only sprung from the Gastalds of the Campanian capital. About these Gastalds (a term of frequent occurrence in earlier Lombard history) the author has a good deal to say. He does not differ from the view previously entertained that they were originally local officers appointed by the Lombard kings to collect their revenue and look after the interests of the royal domain; but he thinks that their title gradually gave way to that of count or *judex loci* and that their office like that of so many other functionaries in the ninth and tenth centuries gradually became hereditary in their families. And thus it was that the Gastald of Capua became, first, the count of that city, and afterwards, the prince of the old "Samnite Duchy" (Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, VI. 575-578). The serious student of the history of Italy between Charlemagne and Robert Guiscard will find that much light is shed on some of the darker portions of his path by the conscientious labors of Dr. Poupardin.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

Innocent III. La Question d'Orient. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1907. Pp. 303.)

THIS is the fourth volume in M. Luchaire's admirable history of Innocent III. The four chapters are entitled respectively: Le Pape, La Syrie Latine et Byzance; La Quatrième Croisade; La Cour de Rome et l'Empire Latin; L'Union des Deux Églises. Of these titles, the second and third describe the contents; the first and last are not so fortunate. The first opens with an account of the pope's interest in the crusading movement, and his relations with the Moslem world; then follow the subjects enumerated in the title, but in addition to Latin Syria and Byzantium, Armenia and Cyprus are treated. The fourth chapter includes a discussion of the efforts of Innocent to bring about a new crusade.

The main theme is the pope's zeal for the cause of the crusades. This was the constant objective of his policy (p. 265) and, according to M. Luchaire's interpretation, explains his attitude towards the Venetians, the Latin emperors, the Greek Church and the Greek rulers. By this interpretation the seeming contradictions in the pope's actions and utterances are reconciled; *e. g.*, his just condemnation of the attack upon Constantinople and his eagerness to profit by the *fait accompli*; his scathing denunciation of the excesses committed, and his readiness

to pardon the crusaders. The question whether Innocent used the crusade mainly to further his own political power, the author answers in the negative. He believes that the pope was sincere in his predilection for the crusade, although he realizes that "Il y avait accord, ici, entre son devoir de chef de religion et ses visées de domination universelle, entre ses convictions et ses intérêts" (p. 4).

Yet the pope's zeal was misdirected and damaged his cause. As our author says (p. 284), the pope seemed to return to a conception of the crusade which belonged to the eleventh rather than the thirteenth century.

In his relations with the Greek Church, Innocent was badly served by his legates, especially Pelagius. But the pope's policy of uniting the two churches was not feasible (p. 261) because of the divergencies of opinion, race hatred and the existence of free Greek states which served as a refuge for the defendants of national independence.

The method in general is the same as in the preceding volumes. The most important documents are analyzed or quoted in full. There are few notes. But in almost every case the source is so fully indicated that any passage can be readily found. In this respect the present volume is more serviceable as a guide than the preceding volumes. When the author has used material which is not included in the well-known collection, he has noted its provenance (see p. 183, note). He has in one instance (pp. 93-94) discussed the relative value of two excellent sources, and given his reasons for preferring to follow one. On the questions whether the Venetians had premeditated the diversion to Zara, and whether they had an agreement with the Marquis of Montferrat relative to the diversion to Constantinople, he expresses no opinion. In fact, he states that the problems are insoluble. Other disputed points which do not immediately affect Innocent's activity he omits. There is, for instance, no mention of the children's crusade.

All the material is made to contribute to an estimate of Innocent's character. The pope's trust in his own diplomacy is repeatedly emphasized. Occasionally there are brief, pregnant statements which portray some phase of Innocent's personality. Among these may be noted, "le sens politique et la crainte des mesures extrêmes qui étaient la marque de son tempérament" (p. 207); "juriste méticuleux et soucieux des formes légales" (p. 224); "de pratiquer la tolérance et de convertir par persuasion. . . . Cette politique était la sienne" (p. 259). In fact, a collection of these apt phrases scattered throughout the four volumes would furnish the material for an accurate portrayal of the pope's character as described by M. Luchaire. This clear characterization is one of the merits of the work. Of still greater merit is the impartial and learned discussion of the different events with which Innocent was connected.

DANA C. MUNRO.

His Grace the Steward and Trial of Peers. A Novel Inquiry into a Special Branch of Constitutional Government. By L. W. VERNON HARCOURT. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 500.)

MR. VERNON HARCOURT'S book is one for which we may be grateful however much we disagree with some of its details, or criticize its faults of form. One merit of detail certainly deserves to be mentioned, the copious quotation from unprinted materials. The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the steward, the second with the trial of peers. The first part traces the office of steward through the earlier dapifership, and seneschalship, to the Lancastrian period when it becomes practically extinct. The author's principle thesis is that the stewardship in England never was, in any part of its history, a great political office, as at one time the seneschalship in France had been. It was never allowed to become more than a ceremonial office of dignity. This he seems clearly to have proved.

With much that the author says in his discussion of the early history of trial by peers the present reviewer is obliged to disagree. Mr. Vernon Harcourt has read widely in feudal law and in the charters of the feudal age, but he does not seem to have acquired a clear understanding of the fundamental principles of that law, nor of procedure in the feudal courts. The distinction between *Urteilfindung* and *Rechtsgebot*, clearly perceived, would have saved him from some misapprehension. The very instructive record of the trial of the bishop of Durham in 1189 should have led to further conclusions regarding both law and procedure. The fact which is seen, that in the early history of the royal courts the king's justice was the baron's peer, is not rigorously applied either to the transitional stages of the thirteenth century or to the statements of Bracton. Nor is there any notice of the effect of the same fact in French constitutional history. Great difficulty is occasioned by c. 39 of Magna Carta both as to its roots in the past and its influence on the future. Mr. Vernon Harcourt apparently regards it as having something of a legislative character, at least as giving to the principle of trial by peers a prominence it had never before possessed, instead of being, if it had any purpose apart from its merely practical one, an effort to defend a form of procedure which was threatened with extinction. Much ingenuity is expended in the settlement of difficulties in the interpretation of the clause which occur readily to the trained lawyer of to-day, but which could never have troubled the men of 1215, and the fact is overlooked that the most natural and simple explanation gives us without doubt what they meant by it. As to the second "vel" of the clause, the author holds, as I understand him, that all instances of the medieval use of "vel" for "et" were blunders, as if one should write "cow" where the context shows plainly he intended "horse", and therefore "vel" in

c. 39 is disjunctive. The facts are certainly against this argument. Such an interpretation also overlooks the fact that "the law of the land", whatever may have been meant by it, is not an alternative to "judgment of peers". The only alternative to the latter, possible at the time, was the mode of trial which the barons desired to avoid. It is probable that "vel" is conjunctive in both places where it occurs in c. 39.

I am obliged to take equal exception to many details in the chapter on the trial of John, but this REVIEW has hardly the space for a full commentary. A new view as to the condemnation of John is added to those already advocated. As I understand the author, John was not condemned to forfeiture in 1202, or in 1203, either in consequence of the appeal of the barons of Poitou, or of the murder of Arthur, but he was so condemned in April, 1213, by Philip's court at Soissons, for his various nefarious acts. This theory, however, is based on interpretations of law and of language which cannot be admitted. One is surprised to learn that John might instantly have ordered Arthur's execution without form of trial, as a vassal in arms against his lord, and one would like to have chapter and verse for this law. A portion of the manifesto issued by Louis on his landing in England in 1216 Mr. Vernon Harcourt regards as a "highly creditable performance". There is really no difference in character between the different clauses of that document, and it is all highly creditable to the ingenuity of a man who wishes to come as near as possible to the truth in the form of words he uses while conveying a wholly false impression.

It is of these two chapters that the most serious criticism of detail is to be made. It must be added, however, that even in these chapters there is much interesting and valuable suggestion by the way, and this is particularly true of the chapters which follow them in which the history of the trial of peers is followed down to the establishment of the modern practice at the end of the Middle Ages. In these chapters will be found fuller accounts of some famous trials of peers in the period covered than can be found elsewhere, with long extracts from unpublished sources. In the case of the Earl of Huntingdon, who died in January, 1400, the author advances the interesting theory that the record of his trial before the lord high steward contained in the Year Books, and serving as the earliest precedent for trials of this form, was a deliberate forgery in the interests of Henry VII. to furnish historical justification for the trial of the Earl of Warwick.

GEORGE B. ADAMS.

The Great Revolt in 1381. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A., Professor in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1906. Pp. viii, 219.)

THE present work is the first complete monograph upon this important subject, all previous works having treated certain phases of the

revolt only. It may be characterized as a successful effort, and is not only a well written but also a reliable account, based throughout upon contemporary authorities. The narrative has profited much by the use of the researches of André Réville, and of the *Anonymous French Chronicle* published in the thirteenth volume of the *English Historical Review*. The critical value of the work frequently suffers by the author's failure to make use of all the testimony that the sources supply. It cannot be termed a final or even an exhaustive account of the Great Revolt. The few scattered remarks of the author upon the relative value of the sources do not satisfy the demands of the modern student. Nor has he used the entire literature of the subject. He seems to have been unacquainted with the *Studies in the Sources of the Revolt in 1381*, two articles published in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. VII. (1902), although Mr. Trevelyan used them in the new edition of his *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (1904).

The first chapter treats of the political and social conditions of England in 1381. The author rightly assigns great importance to the Statute of Laborers, but we cannot agree that the revolt was an unorganized movement, "chaotic in character", or of "sporadic nature". It is hardly accurate to say that manorial grievances had no part in the rising of the mesne towns against their spiritual lords, when we find the townsmen of St. Alban's, for instance, demanding free pasturage for their cattle, free hunting and fishing and the abolition of the seignorial mill. The resistance to the Statute of Laborers was as bitter in the towns as in the country. The preliminary agitative activity of certain Londoners in Essex is well known. The circumstances that, on Corpus Christi and the day following, bands, or at least delegations, of insurgents arrived at London from all over England, even from counties as distant as Somerset and Oxfordshire (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 106; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1381, p. 16), points to a prearranged movement. There is evidence to show that Essex was the hotbed of the revolt which was probably organized from the country about Colchester, the home of both John Ball and Wat Tyler. John Wraw, the chief leader of the Suffolk revolt, was vicar of Ringsfield nearby. He appeared in Suffolk at the head of a band of Essex men, as did Tyler in Kent.

The second chapter is devoted to the Parliament of Northampton and the Poll-tax. Professor Oman here supplies some valuable information obtained from a writ of inquiry as to the Fraudulent Levying of the Poll Tax, dated March 16, 1381, from which, as well as from other sources, it appears that the population, especially as regards the unmarried women, was systematically understated. But he attaches too much importance to this writ when he states that without it "there would probably have been no single movement worthy of being called a rebellion". As Professor Tait has observed, its penalties only applied to those who impeded the commissioners in collecting the tax.

Chapter III. treats of the Outbreak in Kent and Essex; chapter IV.,

the Rebels in London. Based upon careful studies of the original sources, this is the best and most detailed account of the crucial part of the revolt that has as yet appeared. But even here the use of the sources is not exhaustive. Certain inaccuracies occur. There is convincing proof in the sources to show that the Conference at Mile End took place at the seventh canonical hour, 1 p. m., not at 7 a. m. (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 282). In the narrative of the meeting of the king and the rebels it is a pity that the author failed to use the interesting version of the Monk of Evesham, whose usually independent account of the revolt he seems to have altogether overlooked, and that of the *Anonymous French Chronicle*. The latter, in addition to the demands of the insurgents otherwise transmitted, enumerates another which appears to be a demand for the annulment of the Statute of Laborers: "Che nul ne deveroit servire ascune home, mes a sa volunte de mesme et par coueernant taille." In like manner the author has failed in his account of the conference at Smithfield, which resulted in the death of Tyler, to make use of a very important source, the memorial of the insurrection issued by the city council to record the mayor's important part in that event (see Riley, *Memorials of London*, 450-453). We cite these instances because the meetings at Mile End and Smithfield were the two crises upon which the fate of the revolt depended.

Professor Oman's attitude toward the insurrection and its leaders, although not unfair, is rather hostile than sympathetic. On one occasion he terms Tyler a ruffian, and he places more weight upon the hostile Walsingham's statement of the rebel leader's designs than it merits (p. 72). It is hardly just to speak of the insurgents who remained in London after the concessions at Mile End as "demagogues, criminals and fanatics" (p. 69). Now that we know the nature of the demands at Smithfield, it seems more just to say that they were the more radical of the insurgents, to whom the Mile End concessions were not sufficient, and, in particular, the advocates of a reformation of the Church in accordance with the doctrines of John Ball.

Chapters v.-ix. are devoted to the repression of the revolt in London and the various shires. The account of the local revolts contains little additional to the researches of Réville and Powell. The last chapter treats of the Results of the Insurrection. There are six valuable appendices.

The Political History of England. In twelve volumes. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT and REGINALD L. POOLE. Volume V. *The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of Henry VIII., 1485-1547.* By H. A. L. FISHER, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1906. Pp. xx, 518.)

THE appearance of this book marks the entrance of its author upon a comparatively new field; Mr. Fisher has been hitherto known chiefly

by his work on *The Medieval Empire* and his *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship*. A brilliant introduction to a translation of the memoirs of the Pomeranian notary, Bartholomew Sastrow, and a number of Oxford lectures on Reformation topics have already proved, however, that he has long been familiar with the sixteenth century in England and on the Continent, and the present volume at once places him high in the ranks of recognized authorities on early Tudor history.

First and foremost among the great and obvious merits of this book should be mentioned the saneness of its judgments and fairness of its verdicts. Naturally, one of the first points on which the reader seeks information is the writer's position on the question of the divorce of Katharine of Aragon and the origin of the English Reformation. Mr. Fisher's attitude, "more cautious than Froude's", closely resembles that of Professor Pollard; and is stated even more convincingly, though perhaps somewhat less positively. He holds that the lack of a male heir and the prospect of a contested succession were the original, and the attractions of Anne Boleyn the contributory, cause of the breach with Rome. Dr. Gairdner presents the other side of the case in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1907, but we think that there can be little doubt that Mr. Fisher's view will ultimately prevail. Nothing could be better than the last paragraph of the chapter on the Breach with Rome (p. 329) in which the author warns us against the man who would explain the English Reformation solely "on the hypothesis of lust and land-hunger masquerading in the guise of religion". Note-worthy, too, is the estimate of Wolsey, which deals the death-blow to the extravagant praises of Creighton and Brewer, and yet does not err on the other side. Doubtless some of the statements in chapter ix. (on the Balance of Power, 1521-1525) will evoke criticism and perhaps contradiction; but those who quarrel with Mr. Fisher will always find that he has a strong array of evidence to support his view of the case. And we hasten to add that the strength of the author's position is materially increased by the moderate, charitable and courteous language in which he expresses himself on controverted points. He seems to have avoided entirely the polemical style and over-insistence on trivial details which mar so many of our historical discussions to-day.

Next we would mention the author's thorough knowledge of the literature of the period with which he deals—a knowledge the more remarkable as he has not dealt with Tudor history extensively before. One receives an impression of wide and thoughtful reading of sources and secondary authorities in perusing the book; that impression is more than confirmed on examination of the admirable critical bibliography. Doubtless some publications have escaped Mr. Fisher's notice, and he does not always indicate the most recent authorities on every phase of his story; his omission of all mention of Professor Gay's remarks on Leadam's "Domesday of Inclosures" in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* for 1900, and of his article on "Inclosures in Eng-

land in the Sixteenth Century" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for 1903 is a case in point. But lapses such as this are more than counterbalanced by the thoroughness of the author's mastery of the great sources and histories of the period, like the State Papers, Hall, Bacon and Froude. He has really lived in them, and made them a part of himself and his work.

Lastly we would call attention to the style; it is more than merely attractive; at times it is really inspiring. It is delightful, after perusal of the first 109 pages (the portion allotted to Henry VII.) to discover that one has absorbed the pith of the works of Professors Busch and Schanz without the enormous expenditure of time and patience which actual contact with those learned tomes involves; but that is by no means all. Mr. Fisher is more than an accurate and attractive summarizer. The real merits of his style are evident in those passages where he has a chance to show his own personality. He has a vivid imagination, he feels deeply the grandeur and pathos, the tragedy and comedy of the story he has to tell, and he has a rare gift of putting that feeling into words. And yet his love of a brilliant sentence or a clever phrase never runs away with the soundness of his judgment.

One feels throughout that the limits of the work imposed by the editor of the series must have weighed heavily upon the author. There are obviously a number of things which he could have told and would have enjoyed telling had he been able to give himself scope. A little more time spent in revision would probably have saved him some minor slips. Sir Edward Woodville, for instance, who was slain at St. Aubin du Cormier, was not "Lord Scales" (p. 28), despite the statements of contemporaries like Bernaldez and Peter Martyr. The title of Lord Scales belonged to his elder brother Anthony in right of his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas, seventh Baron Scales; but fell into abeyance in 1483 after Anthony's execution (*cf.* Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*, vol. VII., pp. 73-74). It is scarcely accurate to speak of the Star Chamber as "created" (p. 20) by the Act of 1487; it was rather given legal form thereby; the court and the name had been known since Edward III. The enthusiastic letter in which Mountjoy in 1509 describes to Erasmus the virtues of Henry VIII. is curiously misquoted in one particular: the effect of the substitution of the word "cheers" for "tears" (p. 158) is rather startling. Trifles like these however may easily be corrected in a second edition, and should weigh as nothing in comparison with the solid excellencies of this able and interesting book. It will certainly occupy an honorable position in the splendid series to which it belongs. In the opinion of the present reviewer there is no account of either of the first two Tudor reigns, of similar bulk, that can compare with it: it is certainly typical of the best that Oxford scholarship can produce; it has all the merits and almost none of the defects which are commonly associated with Oxford historiography: it should do much to enhance the reputa-

tion of a system in which Mr. Fisher, once a product, is now a most important producer. Finally, the book comes as a welcome evidence that concentration upon a single comparatively limited period is not necessarily essential to the best historical work, and that it is at least possible, despite many examples to the contrary, for a man to make more than one or even two fields of history sufficiently his own to be able to write with authority upon them all.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. Volume IV. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 619.)

History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church. In two volumes. [Third edition, revised.] By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 481; x, 412.)

THE last of the four volumes of Mr. Lea's *Inquisition of Spain* appeared in October. It continues his account of the Inquisition's varied spheres of action. What he has to tell of its dealings with Mysticism is already known in large part from his pages on that subject in his *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*; but it is here revised in the light of further study, and is enriched by considerable excursions into the story of the Church's treatment of Mysticism in Italy and in France. There follows a long chapter on the unsavory subject of the Inquisition's relations with solicitation, another on its dealings with "propositions", or heretical utterances, and one on its treatment of sorcery and occult arts, showing clearly how, by taking seriously such superstitions and laying stress on their diabolic character and supernatural efficacy, the tribunal popularized and perpetuated them.

Strikingly in contrast with this Mr. Lea finds the Inquisition's treatment of witchcraft—for witchcraft, he reminds us, though the culmination of sorcery, was not the same. "The witch has abandoned Christianity, has renounced her baptism, has worshipped Satan as her God, has surrendered herself to him, body and soul, and exists only to be his instrument in working the evil to her fellow creatures which he cannot accomplish without a human agent." This mad delusion, whose rise Mr. Lea dates from the middle of the fourteenth century, and which fills with horror the annals of Christendom during the three or four centuries following, was, in Mr. Lea's opinion, as in that of most other students of the subject, "essentially a disease of the imagination, created and stimulated by the persecution of witchcraft". Now, no land seemed more exposed to the contagion of this epidemic than Spain; nor have the historians of witchcraft recorded her exemption from its ravages. But Mr. Lea demonstrates that in Spain they were far less than in most other Christian lands; and that the mania was "repressed and

rendered comparatively harmless" he thinks "due to the wisdom and firmness of the Inquisition". This could be done because the Inquisition soon won for itself exclusive jurisdiction in such cases. It *was* done, because in the supreme council of the Inquisition there were found a few men rational enough to have doubts, safe enough to dare to utter them and powerful enough to make them effective. As early as 1526 a half-dozen searching questions regarding the matter were submitted to a select "congregation" of ten; and their advice, though halting, inclined decidedly to caution and good sense. This policy of serious inquiry once entered on, enlightenment was sure to grow; and in 1612 a report submitted by a commissioner charged with the investigation of an outbreak of the panic in Navarre seems to have completed the Inquisition's disillusionment. From this time forward, while not denying the existence of witchcraft or modifying the penalties for the crime, it succeeded, by discouraging accusations and rejecting what elsewhere passed for proofs, in practically dispelling the insanity from the popular mind. What was not less, its influence seems to have been felt, though somewhat slowly, by its neighbor, the Inquisition in Italy, whose procedure, based largely on the Spanish, was similarly effective in dispelling the superstition. And all this despite the continued pressure of the theologians and the unwavering credulity of the popes. These interesting conclusions of Mr. Lea may be commended to the thoughtful study of those of his countrymen who still condone the witch-hunting of our ancestors, in Europe or in America, by making it but the fault of their age. There is reason to doubt whether for the faults of our age we are wholly guiltless; but the fact is that, throughout the witch period, skepticism, however timid, was always and everywhere abundant, and that credulity and cruelty, however intelligible, were culpable then if now.

But, if this be Mr. Lea's most surprising chapter, more widely interesting to historians is likely to be that in which he discusses the political activity of the Spanish Inquisition. That the Inquisition was primarily an institution of the state, and not of the Church, as apologists have so long maintained and historians too often admitted, he emphatically denies. The theory that it was the product of the rise of absolutism in Spain is, he declares, "wholly fallacious": True, "a tribunal whose undefined powers and secrecy of action fitted it so perfectly for use as a political agent could scarce exist for centuries without occasionally being called upon"; but the notable thing is "that it was so rarely employed and that the objects for its intervention were usually so trivial". Even the case of Pérez, which Mr. Lea relates with notable fullness and clearness, shows the Holy Office called in only as a last resort, and then proving itself more concerned to advance its own interests than to be the obsequious instrument of the royal will.

There follow chapters on the Inquisition's treatment of Jansenism, of Freemasonry, of Philosophism, of bigamy, of blasphemy, besides a

chapter of miscellanies—its bearing toward marriage in orders, personation of priesthood or of officialdom, demoniacal possession, insults to images, the worship of uncanonized saints, unnatural crime, lending at interest, betrayals of confession; then, in conclusion, a chapter on its decadence in Spain, from the culmination of its power, under Philip IV., to its final extinction by royal decree in 1834, and a chapter of retrospect, which reiterates and reinforces Mr. Lea's conviction that the Inquisition was, on the whole, a curse to Spain, crushing liberty and thought, putting orthodoxy above character, and substituting stagnation for progress. Yet he reminds his readers that the effort to enforce unity of belief, in the conviction that it is essential to human happiness here and hereafter, has been shared by nearly all Christian bodies; and he concludes that "after all, the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself".

Though this is Mr. Lea's last volume on the Inquisition in Spain, it is happily not his last on the Spanish Inquisition: it is to be followed by a volume, announced for early issue, on the Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies. And there is good hope that even this is not to be our last gift from his untiring pen.

Even while busy upon the proofs of his history of the Inquisition he found time for another task. A new edition of his *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* left his hand in March last and was published in the autumn. It has been a classic since first it saw the light in 1867, and even the revision of 1884 has long been out of print. The third edition is again a revision and an enlargement. That two volumes now take the place of one is partly due to the larger type; but careful comparison shows that the added matter fills full fifty of their pages. There is no rearrangement of the work, and in its pre-Reformation portion the changes are very slight—here and there the addition of an authority, the excision of a phrase, the insertion of an episode, the recasting of a sentence. With the chapter on the Reformation in Germany begins more serious modification; that on the Council of Trent is notably enriched; that on the post-Tridentine Church is not only much revised, but its pages on the abuse of the confessional, swollen to thrice their bulk, are made a separate chapter under the title of Solicitation; into that on the Church and the Revolution is inserted a paragraph on the marriage of Talleyrand; and the closing chapter, on the Church of to-day, while not greatly enlarged, is in many places rewritten.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Histoire de Belgique. Tome III. De la Mort de Charles le Téméraire à l'Arrivée du Duc d'Albe dans les Pays-Bas (1567).

Par H. PIRENNE, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. (Bruxelles: Henri Lamertin. 1907. Pp. 489.)

It is not surprising that this volume of his history has cost M. Pirenne more trouble than its two predecessors. For the first portion of it—the reign of Mary and Philip the Fair and the regencies—the author was confronted with the difficulty of few sources; for the latter part he was hampered by the mountain of contemporaneous data that exists and by the mass of opinions that have been expressed, more or less wisely, upon definite conceptions, founded and misfounded, on isolated portions of that data. The result of his labors is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the subject. His own research is industrious and reliable, his appreciation of others' work discriminating; and his conclusions are sane and convincing. This is especially true of the chapters treating of the period from the death of Charles the Bold to the abdication of Charles V. (1477-1555). Netherland history has suffered seriously from being taken in epochs. The general public has, moreover, been diverted by the readability of certain of our authors and has been satisfied with the impression that the decades illuminated by their pens were the only ones worthy of consideration. Intermediate phases, all-important for due comprehension of the workings, and the outcome of national and bi-national machinery have been left in darkness. No narrative history has been so out of proportion as that of Holland, Belgium and their sister governments. Especially has the eighty years war weighed down the eighty years preceding it so as to throw many of the events of the former totally out of perspective.

Several points are brought out in this volume with trenchant clearness. Among the many loosely written dissertations on the Netherlands and their touch upon political development, no one item has been more often misconceived than the document called the Great Privilege signed by Mary of Burgundy at her accession in 1477. It is continually compared to Magna Carta. As a matter of fact it was a simple affirmation of local self-government. It was a protest against centralization, a "particularist" reaction, essentially petty and hampering to general welfare in its selfish restrictions. Moreover, all that it abolished went into effect promptly, while what it pretended to organize failed to be materialized. The projected Grand-Council never acted and the States-General never convened in accordance with their chartered right. Furthermore, the anxious provisions aimed to protect each political unit really severed *de facto* the bond between the various territories so that the deed practically dissolved into a series of individual privileges and, in so doing, virtually annihilated the few general regulations adopted.

This rating of the Grand Privilege in contra-distinction to its over-

praise is not new but M. Pirenne, himself one of the authorities on the subject, has stated it with great precision here in the natural course of his narrative.

Again, the origin of the States-General is capitally set forth and so is the total absence of any democratic principle at their base. Their earliest convention in 1463 was wholly for the convenience of Philip of Burgundy, a device to save him the trouble of visiting his divers capitals and convening the individual assemblies on their native ground. The constituents were by no means pleased at his invitation to meet their fellows. They objected both to the theory and to the practice. The mileage of the deputies was paid by the towns with many grumbles and remonstrances. They thought their count ought to come to them with his requests for money in accordance with immemorial usage instead of making them pay travelling expenses in addition to their unwilling grants. Yet there is some reason for the respect shown to the mention of the States-General in the Grand Privilege. For the article which secured to this reluctant gathering of local dignities, the right of self-convention was a convenient plank for a later platform. The reactionists of 1477 builded better than they knew. In 1572 the States-General—looking backward for precedent not forward to a bold innovation—seized this disused and neglected article and urged it as a justification for their initial steps of independent federal government when the Netherlands revolted against Spain.

The course of events in the years of the regencies is sketched skilfully with attention to the portraits of Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary. The former was an intelligent vicegerent in her nephew's behalf, while the latter was simply a faithful agent to her imperial brother, not venturing on unadvised action. The lieutenancy of both enabled the nobles to become active and important counsellors as they might not have done with a resident sovereign.

It is because M. Pirenne has followed the development of his subject slowly, point to point, instead of starting with the revolt, that he is able, at this stage of his narrative, to give full significance to the part played by the nobles at the accession of Philip II. Charles the Bold did not succeed in breathing a vital spirit into a new nationality. He failed to erect a kingdom called Burgundy but he left Burgundians behind him in the court-circle where he had found Flemings, Hollanders, Brabanters, Burgundian-French. After a century's lapse the descendants of his contemporary nobles were animated by a spirit of cohesion which proved an excellent substitute for love of a concrete *patria* when the unincorporated state of Burgundy slipped out of the control of imperial sovereignty into that of the would-be absolutist, Philip of Spain. It is plain why the revolt of the Netherlands was an aristocratic rather than a popular movement. Another contribution of the fifteenth century helped to maintain this detached upper class nationality. The Order of the Golden Fleece was undoubtedly an element of union among the greater nobles.

The thread of narrative of the political events from 1555 to 1567 is not particularly original but the presentation is fairly vital, far more so that in the more expanded story of M. Gossart. M. Pirenne agrees with the latter in his general opinion that political causes were more potent than religion in bringing about the revolt. The chapters on the social, economic and artistic life are interesting, though rather less so than those upon these topics in the first and second volumes. They touch Belgium as closely as possible, leaving the conditions in the northern Netherlands to Professor Blok's sister history, which, as well as Pirenne's, appears in the series entitled *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*.

Geschichte Spaniens unter den Habsburgern. Erster Band. *Geschichte Spaniens unter der Regierung Karls I. (V.)*. [Allgemeine Staatengeschichte, herausgegeben von K. LAMPRECHT. *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, herausgegeben von A. H. L. HEEREN, F. A. UKERT, W. v. GIESEBRECHT und K. LAMPRECHT, I. 36, I.] Von KONRAD HÄBLER. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1907. Pp. xvi, 432.)

THIS volume, though edited under new auspices and a different title, is in reality the continuation of the *Geschichte Spaniens* up to 1516, in seven volumes, published by Heeren and Ukert, 1831-1902, and written (vol. I.) by Friedrich Wilhelm Lembke, (vols. II., III.) by Heinrich Schäfer and (vols. IV.-VII.) by Friedrich Wilhelm Schirrmacher. Its author, for some years past one of the librarians of the Königl. Öffentliche Bibliothek in Dresden, is already well known as the writer of upwards of half a dozen monographs on Spanish economic history and bibliography, among the best known of which are *Die Wirtschaftliche Blüte Spaniens im 16ten Jahrhundert und ihr Verfall* (Berlin, 1888), and *Die Geschichte der Fugger'schen Handlung in Spanien* (Weimar, 1897).

The present work supplies adequately a long-felt want. The different biographers of Charles V., from Robertson to Armstrong, have laid stress rather on the international aspects of the reign than on domestic affairs, and Spanish historians, in writing of their native land in the sixteenth century, have for the most part, in their patriotic desire to emphasize the more glorious side of their national development, followed the same tendency; with the result that we have not hitherto possessed any satisfactory account of the internal history of Spain under the emperor, save at crises like the Revolt of the Comuneros. Professor Häbler has written his book from precisely the opposite standpoint. He has succeeded in cutting down his account of foreign affairs to less than one quarter of his entire volume; his principal interest is obviously the internal administration of Spain and of her colonies. There is much to applaud and little to criticize.

The verdicts on the emperor throughout are extremely favorable: the author sees in Charles a far-sighted and benevolent ruler, who wrestles manfully with the hopeless task of educating his obstinate and slow-moving Spanish subjects to appreciation of and participation in his broad and statesmanlike plans for their welfare and that of Europe. At times he overstates his case—especially in his generalizations about the emperor's respect for representative institutions—and his conclusions should be controlled by those of historians who have dealt with Charles's career from other standpoints. A fuller knowledge of the French and American literature on his subject would have improved his book. Such capitally important works as Mignet's *Rivalité de François I^{er} et Charles Quint*, and Gounon-Loubens's *Essais sur l'Administration de la Castille* are not mentioned. A more careful perusal of Bourne's *Spain in America* would have caused Professor Häbler to modify some of the statements in his chapter on the colonies.

The chapters on finance and on the crown's policy in regard to the American Indians form the best part of the work. Students in this country will be particularly grateful for the dozen pages dealing with the early development of the *encomiendas*. In his treatment of the very difficult financial problems of the reign and more especially of the attitude of the Cortes thereto, the author develops and enlarges the views first presented in his *Wirtschaftliche Blüte Spaniens*, in 1888. He shows clearly that Charles was anxious, from the outset, to abolish the exemption from taxation enjoyed by nobles and clergy, the chief result of which was to overburden the mass of his subjects; also that he realized the blighting effect of the *alcabala* or tax on sales, and was willing to surrender it in return for a more equitable and less injurious form of impost. For various reasons the Cortes refused several advantageous propositions which he made them, until matters finally came to a crisis in the famous session of 1538. In return for a *sisá* or tax on the necessities of life, to be voted for a special purpose and to be incident for the first time on the privileged orders as well as the commons, the emperor offered the Castilian estates a far wider share in the government and administration of the realm than they had yet enjoyed—privileges, in fact, similar to those enjoyed by the far more independent Cortes of Aragon. This far-sighted proposal, however, was not accepted, owing to the obstinacy of the estates; with the result that instead of gaining the increased power which Charles had offered them, the Cortes rapidly declined, and a golden opportunity was irretrievably lost. Another interesting phase of the question, which Professor Häbler touches tentatively, but fails to carry through to any very definite conclusion, is the evidence afforded of the emperor's desire to secure greater uniformity in the institutions of the different realms comprised in the Iberian peninsula, and break down the barriers that separated one from another. The worst fault of the Hapsburg despotism in Spain was its decentralized character: the nation reaped

all the disadvantages and few of the benefits that may reasonably be expected to accompany an omnipotent kingship. That Charles should have perceived this fault and tried, though ineffectually, to correct it, is surely a lasting claim to greatness.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens: Portugal et Espagne (jusqu'au Début du XIX^e Siècle). Par CHARLES DE LANNOY, Professeur à l'Université de Gand, et HERMAN VANDER LINDEN, Chargé de cours à l'Université de Liège. (Bruxelles: Henri Lamertin. 1907. Pp. 451, with Maps.)

THIS useful volume is, according to the plans of the authors, one of a series dealing with the history of the colonial expansion of European peoples. An introduction treating in general terms the expansion of the peoples of antiquity will be followed by various volumes on medieval, modern and contemporary fields. The two monographs included in this volume are therefore published out of chronological order. They deserve attention, however, not only for their intrinsic merit but because of the earnest they should furnish of the scope, method and general value of the work as planned. The authors have in general made use only of printed material but by numerous foot-notes and a bibliography of some three hundred titles have shown their familiarity with the great collections of documents and with the better secondary sources and special studies. The result is a general introduction to the subject, a résumé of the chief facts, and not in any sense an exhaustive study. The history of the various colonial establishments of Portugal and Spain to the beginning of the nineteenth century is not attempted; and attention is concentrated on the processes of expansion, the administrative and economic policies involved and the results of colonial empire for the home countries. In each case, only ten pages are devoted to the transplanted civilization of Europe.

The method is good. Physiographic, economic, political and social conditions at home are first reviewed. Then in each case the early history of the respective colonial ventures is treated and, thanks to caution and accuracy, the book is free from many persistent and misleading generalizations. On special disputed points the authors have followed the conclusions of one expert or another (generally it appears the better), but have usually summarized the opposing view in a footnote. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that in the case of Asia more attention was not given to reviewing the local conditions which were to exercise such a profound influence on the European settlements. The possibilities of the colonial *milieu* do not seem to have been properly realized. The sections on economic policy, especially in the case of Portugal, do, however, show both accuracy and appreciation of the questions involved. The value of such a volume and indeed of the whole series depends upon the ability of the writers to reach conclu-

sions only after investigations of wide range, on the preservation of proper proportions as between policies and events and as between government and economics, both of which require a sure foundation in history. Here we have less history than in the corresponding volume by Zimmermann, but other aspects equally important are not dismissed in a scant section. The bibliography is better than in Zimmermann, as are the maps, though that of Mexico leaves much to be desired, and more physical detail in the map of India ought to have been given. On the whole the present volume is better than any other single book of corresponding scope and much is to be found in it which is otherwise badly scattered. The other volumes of the series will be looked for with interest.

Turning now to a few of the more important matters specifically treated we can at the same time gain a better notion of the point of view and contents of this volume. Portugal claims 238 pages and Spain 198 pages. On the whole the Portuguese section by de Lannoy is of greater value to the student, both because of the lack of other good books on the subject and because of its contents, than the Spanish section by Vander Linden. De Lannoy lays the foundations of Portuguese expansion in the Ceuta crusade, but is inclined to minimize the religious motive in the subsequent movement. He properly rejects the story of the early Sagres school of geography, and judges the motives of Prince Henry as of a slow development with the prospect of at least alternative results, should one object or another prove beyond reach. In the days of Albuquerque the disproportion between means and object is already clear to the student and, though it was not perceived at the time, the seed of failure was already sown. Save Brazil, the Portuguese colonial domain was a long shore-line empire, whose links could be broken by the enemy and which at no time rested on a proper appreciation of the *Hinterland*. The emancipation of Portugal in 1640 was the signal for its permanent and greater work in the development of Brazil, which, however, does not receive proportionate treatment at the hands of the author. In the chapters on administration, the evidence, mainly from Portuguese sources, supports the estimate and character usually given. A significant touch on the evils of local administration is given (p. 110, n. 2) by the citation of the order of 1612 forbidding colonial governors to take their sons with them to their posts. Graft had naturally become a family matter.

In economics the undue restraint and over-regulation of trade continued long beyond their possibly normal term. At no time indeed did Portugal derive the maximum of possible advantage from her colonies. On the other hand, that Portugal would have done better in the long run never to have had a period of colonial expansion and activity is strenuously denied. The work done in Brazil and the glory of Camoëns are among the reasons cited.

The Spanish section follows the same arrangement of topics and

relative emphasis. The colonial work of Castile, stimulated in large part by physiographic conditions, is well brought out. In the matter of discovery the Toscanelli letter is accepted without discussion, and in colonization the usual mingling of economics, love of adventure and missionary propaganda is found. In like manner are estimated the character of Spanish government and the influence of the economic régime. The truth that many of the Spanish colonies, though now in large part independent, have never undergone a real social or political revolution is a corollary to the facts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as here presented. The history of the Spanish colonies is, to a large degree, an extension of the history of Spain.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Socialism before the French Revolution: A History. By WILLIAM B. GUTHRIE, Ph.D., Instructor in History, College of the City of New York. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xviii, 339.)

THAT the general sources of modern scientific socialism lie back of the nineteenth century is a proposition no longer open to debate, but whether any earlier system of social philosophy may be called strictly socialistic is not so clearly settled. The author of the present volume does not hesitate to class as socialistic the body of literature which he here studies. Without pretending to cover the social philosophy of the whole period, he has examined certain leading phases of speculation between the Reformation and the end of the French Revolution, his attention being centred chiefly on four types, More's *Utopia*, Campanella's *City of the Sun*, the pre-revolutionary philosophy in France of which Morelly is the best type and the Revolutionary Radicals. He has also attempted to outline the economic conditions in the midst of which these writings grew and of which they were to some extent the index. More's *Utopia* must be considered as a tract for the times rather than as a vague picture of ideal society. It was a protest against the changing political and social order of the Reformation period in England. Between More and Campanella there was a close parallel, due allowance being made for the lapse of a century and for widely different political environments. More was most concerned with the social-economic, Campanella with the political, point of view. Campanella was deeply influenced by the Jesuit philosophy and particularly by the Jesuit state experiment in Paraguay. Like Plato but unlike More, he demanded so complete a surrender of the individual to the state as to leave no room for the private family. He would have carried this principle even to the extent of giving the state absolute control of the breeding and rearing of children.

In the chapters on French radical philosophy before and during the Revolution, Mr. Guthrie is evidently more at home than in the earlier

period, and his work is more scholarly and better organized. He is almost the first to give in English any adequate account of the social teachings of Morelly. So completely has the name of Rousseau overshadowed the pre-revolutionary era that the more definitely radical philosophy of Morelly has had but scant attention. Sharing with Helvétius and D'Holbach in the denial of innate ideas, he proceeded to a denial of the resulting right of private property. While much nearer to the world of actual experience than the early utopians, he shared their fascination with the remote and the primitive. He was largely responsible for the reigning fetish of the time, "le bon sauvage", and for the worship of the state of nature. Like his contemporaries, he was deficient in exact historical knowledge and like them he attempted to supply the defect by what has been well termed "conjectural history". His claim to rank as a predecessor of the modern scientific socialists rests chiefly on his insistence on collective ownership of production goods only, as distinguished from the universal communism of his contemporaries.

In connection with his treatment of the Revolutionary Radicals, Mr. Guthrie has given a brief but, on the whole, an adequate presentation of the socialistic tendencies of the Revolution. He is unquestionably right in his contention that much of the revolutionary legislation which is often classed as socialistic was in reality not based on any economic philosophy but was an outcome of the pressing necessities of the time. His emphasis on the importance of Barnave's contribution to socialistic thought is perhaps a shade too pronounced, and he has hardly given sufficient weight to Saint-Just's social programme.

The book, particularly in the earlier chapters on More and Campanella, loses some of the readable quality by reason of its labored style and frequent reiteration of statement. The generalizations are usually accurate and suggestive. But it is hardly correct to say that "a large part of the discussion of socialism up to the work of Ferdinand Lassalle may be called academic" (p. 34), for Mr. Guthrie has himself shown that a definite class-conscious movement even antedated the Revolution. Nor is it quite accurate to state that Babeuf was "out of sympathy with those who had liberty as their ideal" (p. 296), since Babeuf's later communistic programme was but an amplification of his earlier devotion to a narrowly political type of reform. But these minor defects do not seriously detract from the genuine merits of a book which must be welcomed as a really important contribution in a neglected field.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

The Strength of Nations: An Argument from History. By J. W. WELSFORD, M.A. (New York, London, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. x, 327.)

"In this book an attempt is made to examine the fiscal question in the light which European history from the commencement of the

Christian era sheds upon it." Many statements in the book are open to criticism, but none is more misleading than this, the first sentence of the preface. The book is not an examination of the fiscal question in the light of European history, but an examination of European history in the light of the fiscal question, or rather in the twilight of a partizan view of fiscal reform. It is not history, but as its subtitle truthfully says, "An Argument from History".

The argument, in brief, is as follows. Production and trade are two distinct things. Trade is not necessarily an evil, but it is dangerous. "In the past, trade, when unregulated by the State, has always ended by ruining national production, which is the only permanent source of national strength." The Western Roman Empire fell because the metropolis was not productive; it received its imports as tribute, and gave no exports in return. Constantinople enjoyed a longer life, because it depended on trade as well as tribute, but it prepared its own decline by conceding commercial privileges to the Venetians. This "fiscal madness", by the way, was repeated by England in the French commercial treaty of 1860. "The fatal legacy of international trade" passed to the Italian cities; and Italy was ruined by free importation. Germany had an opportunity to rise to the position of a great power, but the movement toward national unity was associated with a movement for tariff reform, and when the plan of an imperial customs system was rejected the way was paved for the troubles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Spain imitated Rome. Holland sacrificed strength for wealth, and declined because it supported trade rather than production. France became strong in the seventeenth century under a protective system. She prospered even in the eighteenth century. Her fall, however, was being prepared by the "Circle-Squarers", as the author terms the Physiocrats, and the acceptance, under their influence, of the Eden treaty of 1786 brought on the Revolution. "Free-trade historians probably scored their greatest triumph when they obscured the simple causes which led to the Reign of Terror. They have made people believe that a peculiarly oppressive feudal system existed in France in the eighteenth century", but the author sets us right on that as on many other points of recent history.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposals have roused such feeling in England that a participant in the discussion of fiscal reform can scarcely be expected to approach his subject in a judicial temper. It is hard, however, to find excuses for the utter heedlessness of this historical essay. The author lists altogether some four score books as authorities for his statements. Scarcely a dozen of these belong to the field of economic history. The author has selected what facts he wanted, from any convenient repository, and has put them in a setting which is entirely of his own fabrication. The contributions which scholars have made to our knowledge of the history of commercial policy are ignored. Even when the author cites a book of recognized authority,

such as Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, he culls from it only the statements which he can use to further his own argument, and disregards all others. Mr. Welsford's book can be recommended to classes which are studying the pathology of history, and want a morbid specimen for examination; it can serve no other good purpose.

CLIVE DAY.

The Political History of England. In twelve volumes. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A. Volume VII. *The History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Restoration (1603-1660).* By F. C. MONTAGUE, M.A., Astor Professor of History in University College, London. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1907. Pp. xix, 514.)

ALMOST side by side the two co-operative histories of England now appearing, the six-volume series edited by Professor Oman, and the twelve volumes under the direction of Mr. Hunt and Mr. Poole, approach completion. Last year was issued Mr. Trevelyan's *Age of the Stuarts* in the one, and now comes Professor Montague's *Political History of England, 1603-1660*, in the other, covering the first half of the period pre-empted by its predecessor. It would seem at first glance that this was an unfortunate situation. Yet, so variously does the historical muse present herself to her followers, almost the only point of contact between the two volumes in question is the sense of contrast inevitably roused by their almost simultaneous appearance. Two books, covering the same period, dealing, presumably, with the same set of fairly well-known facts, and, if one may judge from editorial utterance, with much the same purpose, could not well be more different. Professor Montague's book is, in other words, pre-eminently what its title implies, a political history. In it, social, economic, literary, intellectual, even religious elements are subordinated to political and constitutional interest. Mr. Trevelyan's book, on the contrary, laying its stress on precisely those matters which are mere corollaries to Professor Montague's main theme, is almost everything but political in the usual sense. But, different as they are in more ways than this, they unite in one thing, if only one. That is the demonstration of the dictum that "it is ill gleaning after Gardiner". It does not often happen that any one is able to make any field so completely his own as the historian of the Puritan Revolution. Not Macaulay, nor Ranke, with all their great and varying talents, were able to do as much. It is, in consequence, no easy task, in many ways it is not a desirable one, to do more than epitomize Gardiner's work, illuminating it with additional matter drawn from the monographs of other writers on separate phases or events of the period. This, in no small measure, is what Professor Montague has done, and, on the whole, done

well. But he has done, also, much more. A great amount of the source-material has been re-read, evidently with much care. The constitutional side has been much emphasized, and its points stated with clearness and force. Many of Gardiner's judgments have been revised, and a considerable amount of new material included. The result is a careful, scholarly and accurate account of the period from 1603 to 1660, put clearly and convincingly in a compass available for the ordinary reader or student. "This is a sober people", said Charles I., and this, one may repeat, is a sober narrative. It contains no purple patches, no journalistic *tours de force*. It is plain and unadorned, written in a style simple to severity, clear, direct, often inclining toward legalism. On the whole it improves as the book advances and the tragedy of the Revolution unfolds. Above all it is eminently logical and convincing. Perhaps it leans too much toward these qualities. One misses something of the life and energy lent by direct quotation. The vigorous language of the advice of James I. to Charles and Buckingham, for instance, here appears so decorously dressed after the English fashion as to be almost unrecognizable (pp. 118-119), and the accounts of the great days of the Commons, under the leadership of Eliot and Pym, might have been enlivened with such historic fragments of eloquence as stirred men then and since, with no loss to the truth or dignity of the work.

With respect to the more salient differences between this and other works on this period, perhaps the most striking is the greater severity of Professor Montague's judgments. Against the authority of both Gardiner and Spedding, he condemns Bacon with little reserve (pp. 83, 96, 100). While he does not defend the "grand apostate to the Commonwealth" view of Strafford, his strictures on that statesman are more than usually strong (pp. 219, 224, 241). There, as in some other matters, he takes distinctly advanced Puritan ground. On the other hand, Cromwell's attitude toward parliaments and lawyers is set forth in all its baldness, and nowhere can any charge of bias fairly be made. One may question whether the adjective "frantic" precisely expresses the intellectual twist which was the peculiar possession of that strange compound of legal antiquary and zealot, Prynne (p. 186). And in regard to some other matters more serious questions might be raised. The account of the Grand Remonstrance (pp. 256-257) would not have suffered from the inclusion of some of the material in Professor Schoolcraft's monograph on its origin. A little more might have been made of the effect on the popular mind by the seizure and publication of the king's papers after Naseby (p. 310). As to whether Sir Edward Dering, who moved the first reading of the bill to abolish episcopacy (p. 243) is "a man now wholly forgotten", one may venture to dissent on the ground that he occupies a respectable niche in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, if on no other. The "New England winter which taxes modern art and luxury to make it endure

able" (p. 108), may seem to some a little too severe language for the mildness generally supposed to have prevailed between November, 1620, and May, 1621, about Plymouth. But these are trifling matters. It is more to the purpose to note that this eminently usable narrative is accompanied by three maps: England and Wales in the Civil War; Scotland, illustrating the distribution of the clans and the campaigns of Montrose and Cromwell; and Ireland during the rebellion of 1641 and Cromwell's campaigns. An appendix on authorities notes, among other matters, that Gardiner, although "the greatest of historical investigators", suffers from "grave defects of style and arrangement" which "will always repel the general reader from these monumental works", and that his "judgments upon individuals are sometimes difficult to accept". The usual index completes the volume. And it is interesting to observe in it the absence of such words as Puritan, Pilgrim, Marston Moor, the Dunes, Carisbrooke, Dunbar and Newbury, among others. This is doubtless no fault of the author. To him we are under obligation for the best account in such compass of an important and difficult period in English history.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Deutsche Geschichte. Von KARL LAMPRECHT. Der ganzen Reihe neununter Band. Dritte Abtheilung. *Neueste Zeit. Zeitalter des subjektiven Seelenlebens.* Zweiter Band. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1907. Pp. xiv, 516.)

As it approaches completion Professor Lamprecht's history gains in interest because it gives us a better basis for judging the real merit of his novel method. For with Lamprecht, it is the method rather than the mere content that is of interest to the historical student. It is already apparent that his innovations are not so revolutionary as they appeared ten years ago, but his history is sufficiently out of the ordinary to be ranked as epoch-marking. It is neither a philosophy of history nor strictly a culture-history; it is not mere economic history or historical sociology or folk-psychology; it is a combination of all of these. No genuine historian works without some definite fundamental principle to guide his interpretation. It has remained for Lamprecht to go into the very *penetralia* of a people's soul to find the secret of history. Conceiving that the national *Seelenleben* has changed in successive ages, he groups the events of German history into social-psychic periods (symbolism, typism, conventionalism, individualism, subjectivism), much as the psychologist would arrange individual psychic phenomena connected with infancy, youth and old age.

The work has now reached the middle of the final or subjective period. The eighth volume was the first of this group (see this REVIEW, vol. XII., p. 633). It dealt with the initial phases of subjectivism, covering what may be roughly called the last half of the

eighteenth century, and outlined the higher cultural activities of the transition period. Volume nine completes this analysis and carries the investigation through the Napoleonic era to the end of the Vienna Congress. It comprises the twenty-third book and is divided into five chapters. The first three chapters contain a discursive study of the social and intellectual forces of the age, while the last two chapters approach as nearly to a narrative of military and political events as Lamprecht ever admits to his pages. Chapter one takes up new developments in social, educational and political theory during the early subjective period. As in many another age of reform, the emotionalism of the time turned into a passion for and a belief in the potency of universal education. The lower schools were already (1769-1803) becoming public institutions. A generation before this, superannuated soldiers from Frederick's army had been accounted competent to serve as schoolmasters. The barren methods of the older pedagogy now felt the vivifying influence of Pestalozzi's ideas. Lamprecht's appreciation of Pestalozzi's relation to the sentimental phase of educational history is entirely adequate. In the realm of political ideas, Wolff, Kant and Schiller, each in his way, exerted a large influence, but Lamprecht finds in Wilhelm von Humboldt the first matured expression of subjective political philosophy; "a humanitarian optimism guides his pen; he expects everything from the social-psychic application of individual spiritual (*seelische*) activities; preferably he would dispense with the idea of state action: like so many noble thinkers of the early subjective period, especially Kant, he regards the state as only a necessary evil" (p. 118).

Chapters two and three discuss the break-up of the old empire, the disorganization of Prussia after Jena and the dissolution of old economic and political forms. While the war of 1806 was in no sense a "Volkszug", its consequences were the liberation of the imprisoned forces of national sentiment and the re-creation of an outworn administrative system. Liberty and equality in both economic and social life became the watchword of the new subjectivism.

In the two chapters on the wars of liberation is to be found some of the most spirited writing of Lamprecht's whole work. Occasionally he appears to forget his position as a passionless interpreter of national life and to sink the historian in the man and the patriot. There are passages which stir the blood and which, did the modern historian not taboo the word, could only be described as eloquent; for example, the account of the Tyrolese insurrection (p. 362), the burning of Moscow and the French retreat (pp. 397-398) and Schill's heroic fate (p. 365). Since the author does not feel responsible for the reader's knowledge of facts it is inevitable that his narrative should often be meagre and out of proportion. Passing at will from minute detail to the barest outline, the impression of unevenness is not always relieved by any distinguishable plan of emphasis. A curious instance of this is found

in the mention of the capture of Napoleon's hat and sword by the Prussians the day after Waterloo, at the end of a dozen sentences describing that battle (p. 485). The outburst of patriotism attending the war of liberation was certainly one of the most striking phenomena of subjectivism, but here for once Lamprecht largely depends on events to interpret themselves, as they so readily do in this instance. He uses the poetry of the time freely, he assigns the proper place to the influence of Arndt, Kleist and Körner, he studies the Tugendbund, but he undertakes no exhaustive analysis of the psychic aspects of the movement. Not so easily understood, however, is the reason for the slight attention given to Stein.

With a book which does not pretend to set forth new facts, but only new interpretations, and which contains no reference to the standard sources, the ordinary canons of criticism fail. The author's profound knowledge and deep insight into social movements are unquestioned, but whether his judgment on any given point is sound must remain a matter of opinion. It goes without saying that as his history approaches the present, the point of view which he has chosen seems more in harmony with that of the age of which he writes. This after all is one of the chief points in the present Lamprecht controversy. Lamprecht's method is broader than that of his predecessors in that it calls into its service those newer results in psychology and sociology which are broadening the historical horizon.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

The History of the World. A Survey of Man's Record. Edited by Dr. H. F. HELMOLT. Volume VIII. *Western Europe—The Atlantic Ocean.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1907. Pp. ix, 432.)

It will be recalled that Dr. Helmolt rejects as unhistorical and unscientific all chronological or racial divisions of history, and all "epochs" resting on arbitrary hypothetical "stages of progress", whether political, economic, or folk-psychic. His divisions are therefore "anthropogeographical", or, in the words of Brinton (I. 19), "zones of the distribution of races, broadly enough constructed to allow the tendency of a group or the civilization of an age to be clearly seen and demonstrated". Starting from the great dividing line of the Atlantic Ocean and moving ever westward, the editor arranges his survey of man in eight volumes: I. Early History, America, the Pacific Ocean; II. Oceania, Eastern Asia, the Indian Ocean; III. Western Asia, Africa; IV. The Mediterranean Nations; V. Southeastern Europe, the Slavs; VI. Germans and Romans; VII. Western Europe until 1800; VIII. Western Europe in the Nineteenth Century, the Atlantic Ocean.

As volume VII. closed with a chapter on the Rise of the Great Powers from about 1650, it is natural that volume VIII. should open

with a chapter on the French Revolution, Napoleon and Reaction. It is by Dr. Kleinschmidt and is disappointing; in the midst of a multitude of names there is no guiding thread of interest and no inkling of the great ideas of the era. The style has not the dignity of the rest of the work: the Revolution is "that terrible picture of sin and retribution, full of light and shade, beauty and blood, of fair ideals and foul crimes, and original in the widest sense of the word"; in 1788 "Necker did not come down from his curule chair . . . but stared vacantly into the distance . . . while the whole nation was already hurrying to the voting urns"; Danton "foams like a wounded boar" and Robespierre is "like a cat creeping to pounce upon its prey". The name of Zwiedineck-Südenhorst is a guarantee of better things in the second chapter on The Political and Social Changes in Europe between 1830 and 1859; it is interpretative and not merely narrative; it sets forth sharply and succinctly the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 as they vary from country to country. The Unification of Italy and of Germany from 1859 to 1866 are detailed with spirit by Heinrich Friedjung; Napoleon III. and the Crimean War receive only incidental attention. In the eighty pages of the fourth chapter, Professor Gottlob Egelhaaf aims to give "a summary account of every event of importance which occurred in Western Europe between 1866 and 1902". No mention is made of any of the reforms of Alexander II. in Russia nor of any of the changes in the Balkan Peninsula which one would naturally expect to find in this chapter; one must turn back to volume V. On the other hand, there seems to be no good reason for the repetition of the account of the Kulturkampf which has been fully given already in volume VII., nor for the disconcerting interjection into the midst of a discussion of Napoleon III. and the Roman Question of a page on English Parliamentary Reform and punitive expeditions to Abyssinia.

All four chapters are more or less open to two points of criticism. First, none of the writers has shown at all satisfactorily the great influence of religion, romanticism, capitalism and the improvement in the means of communication in shaping the history of the nineteenth century; they too often lapse into the conventional juiceless political narrative. The fault is not theirs but the editor's; they fear to be guilty of repetition, in as much as these subjects have already been completely developed as separate topics in volume VII. In the second place, the point of view and the allotment of space seem excessively German. Many things in the French Revolution are summarily condemned as "senseless"; in an account of the Franco-Prussian War it is an injustice to France to follow Von Sybel implicitly and to reiterate some of Bismarck's purposely misleading statements in the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*. The French Revolution from the accession of Louis XVI. to the death of Robespierre is given only 21 pages; almost as much space is given to the military events alone of the Franco-Prussian War, and nearly twice as much to the Holy Alliance

and the dreary congresses from 1815 to 1823. The number of pages allotted to England, France and Germany since 1871 are 3, 2½ and 18, respectively. Such Teutonism is natural enough in a work written by Germans and dealing with a period in which Germans have played so splendid a part; but it is no merit in an English edition, and a positive demerit in a professedly unbiassed teleological survey of all mankind. Thus, while these chapters are disappointing in that they rather fall from the lofty principles and novel features of the earlier volumes, they nevertheless deserve a place among the best scholarly one-volume accounts of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the plan of the work forbids all foot-notes, bibliographies and critical apparatus. There are several excellent maps and mediocre portraits. This volume does not refute a common charge that co-operative history is heavy reading; it weighs five and a half pounds. The average *Cambridge Modern History* volume, with twice as many pages, weighs but three and a half pounds.

It remains to speak of the last chapter by Dr. Karl Weule. In masterful fashion he suggests, without describing, the significance of the Atlantic Ocean in history (1) as a great dividing barrier, (2) as the training school of nations and (3) as a medium of world commerce. He points out the characteristics and influence of the principal attempts to cross and control this ocean from the days of the legendary Brandan and early Norsemen to the contemporary rivalry of the Morgan, Cunard and Lloyd lines. He then shows how the Baltic and Mediterranean have exercised "a retrograde influence on humanity" inasmuch as they were so easy of navigation that the inhabitants along their shores were never trained to take the lead upon the ocean. The stormy Atlantic, on the contrary, has ever been a hard and invaluable training school to those who have ventured upon it and thereby raised their nations to greatness. Finally, by reasoning again from the commercial history of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and by taking into consideration the Panama Canal and the great economic development of America, he concludes that the Atlantic is losing its old character and becoming a great American Mediterranean. "The prospects before the Old World seem somewhat doubtful; even today many an individual might find good reason for characterising the once boundless ocean as a future *mare clausum*, access to which is to depend on Yankee favor" (p. 410). This admirable chapter (whether one accepts all Dr. Weule's conclusions or not) is full of the freshness of the salt sea itself. In bringing the reader back to his starting point in volume I., it completes his *tour du monde*, and forms a very fitting and characteristic ending to this remarkable *History of the World*.

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY.

Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. Zwei Bände. Im Auftrage des Prinzen Alexander zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH CURTIUS. (Stuttgart und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1907. Pp. viii, 440; 565.)

Memoirs of Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst. Two volumes. Authorized by Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst and edited by FRIEDRICH CURTIUS. English edition supervised by GEORGE W. CHRYSAL, B.A., formerly exhibitor of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: William Heinemann. 1906. Pp. ix, 405; ix, 519.)

By inherited position, by talents and by training, Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst was peculiarly qualified for German public life. As head of one branch of a great South German house, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was still a reigning house, he was in theory of equal rank with the kings and emperors whom he served. His means were not indeed so large as to permit him to assume, without regard to salary, positions which entailed heavy outlays for representation, but they were large enough to enable him to live in comfort and dignity without office. His perceptions were quick and his judgment was sound. His natural abilities were conscientiously developed; he was not only an educated man but, in the fullest sense of the word, a man of culture. He was never a maker of winged words, but he attained the power of clear, forcible and even eloquent speech. His industry was unusual, even in Germany. Bismarck's standard of industry was not a low one, and he spared his associates as little as himself; but in 1880, when Hohenlohe had acted as the chancellor's substitute through the summer, Bismarck told him that he had made only one mistake—he had worked too hard (II. 306).

In character Prince Hohenlohe stood even more conspicuously above the average of public men. He was faithful to the causes which he espoused, loyal to the rulers whom he served, honest and above-board with his fellow-workers.

Professedly and sincerely religious, his religion was independent of dogma. A Roman Catholic, he received the doctrines of his church as matters of faith—"the acceptance of that which the church has prescribed" (II. 453). As regards the relations of church and state, he stood always, as he wrote to his brother in 1872, "on the side of the Ghibellines" (I. 91). Like most nineteenth-century Germans whose ancestors were "immediate to the empire", he was strongly nationalist in his sympathies: he was a German first, a Bavarian afterwards. Finally, although socially an aristocrat to his finger-tips, he was by education and by conviction a liberal in politics.

These data not only explain his political career, but make it seem so necessary that it might conceivably have been predicted. It is noticeable, indeed, that for every important post which he held his name had long before been suggested. The antitheses which he had reconciled, or at least surmounted, in the attainment of his own views prepared him for the part which, if not the most brilliant, is still perhaps the most useful that a public man can play, the part of mediator; and in this part his evident integrity, commanding the confidence of all with whom he came in contact, contributed largely to his success. As mediator between the Catholic South and the Protestant North, between dynastic particularism and national patriotism, between monarchic authority and popular aspirations and finally, at the end of his career, between a somewhat headstrong young emperor and the princes and parliamentary parties of Germany, he rendered services which entitle him to a high place among those who created and consolidated the new empire.

In spite of the prince's eminent qualifications for public life, his first attempts to open for himself a political career were unsuccessful. In 1848 he threw himself into the movement for German unity and undertook a diplomatic mission in behalf of the provisional imperial government. This course excluded him from office during the ensuing period of reaction; and until the close of the year 1866 his sole political activity was as a hereditary member of the Bavarian upper house.

The events of 1866 necessitated a change of ministry in Bavaria which needed as its prime minister a man who represented the now dominant national idea. Prince Hohenlohe assumed the premiership at the end of the year 1866 and retained it until 1870. During his conduct of Bavarian affairs he held loyally to the Prussian alliance, strove to make such preparations as were possible for the ultimate inclusion of Bavaria in a reunited Germany, and attempted (apparently with little hope of success) to bring about that federal union of the South German states for which provision had been made in the Peace of Prague.

When, after his retirement from office, the Franco-German War and the irresistible pressure of the national idea forced the South German states to come into the new empire on practically the same terms as those on which the smaller North German states had entered the North German union, Prince Hohenlohe found no difficulty in accepting this result. During the next four years his principal political activity was in the Imperial Diet, of which he was chosen first vice-president. He was one of the founders of the Imperial party (*Reichspartei*), which was practically the right wing of the Liberals and which supported Bismarck's policies.

During the last year of his premiership in Bavaria, Prince Hohenlohe had endeavored to secure joint action on the part of the European states with Catholic populations against the impending declaration of papal infallibility. In this he was unsuccessful; but in the Imperial

Diet he continued to oppose Ultramontane tendencies and warmly supported the law expelling the Jesuits from Germany.

In 1874 he was appointed ambassador in Paris. He retained this post while acting as temporary head of the Imperial Foreign Office in 1880, and gave it up only to become governor of Alsace-Lorraine in 1885. In 1894 he became chancellor of the empire, succeeding Count Caprivi. When he assumed this responsible and difficult office, he was a few months older than Bismarck had been when he relinquished it; but despite his age he held it for six years. "Need of rest I really have not", he wrote to a friend in January, 1899; but he was determined that his official career should be ended of his own motion, and he twice asked to be relieved of his duties: first in the spring of 1899, on the completion of his eightieth year, and again in the autumn of 1900. On the second occasion his resignation was accepted; with decent regrets, indeed, but with a promptness which showed him that it was "*die höchste Zeit*". Learning that Bülow was to succeed him, he "drove home with [his] mind at rest". The contrast between Bismarck's tempestuous exit, ten years earlier, and this serene withdrawal is eminently characteristic of the two men. To life itself Hohenlohe bade farewell with the same cheerful tranquillity. He had been as fortunate in his home life as in his public career; and in the year before his death he wrote to his sister: "I have thankfully to look back upon a happy life, such as has been allotted to few mortals" (II. 541, 542).

Prince Hohenlohe not only preserved all papers which seemed to him of value but also kept a diary. There were few men of political importance whom he did not meet; and the confidence which he inspired was so great that monarchs and statesmen, foreign as well as German, talked to him with unusual unreserve. Such conversations the prince recorded, often putting the utterances of his interlocutors in quotation marks. The internal evidence of the fidelity of his reports is very strong; the persons whom he quotes speak with their own voices, not with his. In reporting Bismarck, for example, Hohenlohe's record is as phonographic as Busch's. The diary when published in full will be a source of the first importance.

In accordance with the prince's instructions, his youngest son, Prince Alexander, to whom his papers were entrusted, secured the assistance of Friedrich Curtius in the compilation of the present *Memoirs*. For the period 1866-1890, copious extracts from the diary are given; and these, with correspondence and other documents, throw much light upon German and European affairs, particularly upon the relations between South Germany and the North German Federation, upon the conflict between the German states and the Roman Catholic church and upon the movement of French politics from 1874 to 1885. Above all, the *Memoirs* help us and will help the future historian to realize the personalities of many of the leading actors on the European political stage. After 1890, for obvious reasons, the material given

us is less full and less interesting; and for the period of the prince's chancellorship, although the editor had abundant notes at his disposal (II. 516), the extracts which he has ventured to publish are brief and politically unimportant.

It is not wholly clear why Prince Alexander should have fallen into disgrace for permitting the publication of these *Memoirs*. There are, indeed, a few passages concerning the parents of the reigning emperor, their relations to one another and his relations to them, which he can hardly find pleasant reading. Nothing is told that was not already known or surmised, but in some instances what was previously unattested gossip is now based on the most competent testimony. Passing to slighter things: the emperor can hardly like to have it recorded that at his own table he "talked incessantly" (II. 533); or that at the end of one of his after-dinner speeches Moltke quoted to Hohenlohe Goethe's "*ein politisch Lied ein garstig Lied*" and expressed a hope that the imperial utterances would not get into the newspapers (II. 463). On the other hand there is much in these *Memoirs* that should gratify the emperor. No account of the breach with Bismarck has been published heretofore that sets William's action in so favorable a light. Apparently the Bismarck dynasty had become impossible: Herbert was more overbearing than his father and it was necessary that both should go. In the ensuing quarrel, Hohenlohe thinks William's conduct wise. In general he found the young emperor "*klug und pflichttreu*" (II. 445). It is probable that the emperor was angered not so much by the contents of the *Memoirs* as by the fact that they were published without his approval.

All the foregoing references are to the German edition. The English version is so unsatisfactory that no writer who values his reputation for accuracy can safely cite it without examining the German text. The translation seems to have been made in great haste and by a number of different persons. Of these, some were unaware of the meaning of common German words; more were hopelessly perplexed by idiomatic turns and figurative phrases; all were at sea as often as any knowledge of German law or politics or history or geography was required. Division of labor among persons equally incompetent to deal with technical terms has produced some amusing results; for example, "*Landesausschuss*" is translated in eight different ways, all wrong. There are also numerous omissions. To mistranslations and oversights add misprints, which are numerous and occasionally grotesque, and it is clear that the English edition of the *Memoirs*, in its present state, is a book which should not have been put upon the market.

MUNROE SMITH.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

English Colonies in America. Volume IV. *The Middle Colonies.* Volume V. *The Colonies Under the House of Hanover.* By J. A. DOYLE, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 447; xvi, 497.)

THE earlier volumes of Mr. Doyle's history have long been familiar to scholars and their merits and demerits have been so adequately presented and discussed that no comment on the work as a whole is necessary here. After the publication of volumes two and three so long a time elapsed that scholars abandoned the hope of seeing the completed work and the history promised to remain but a fragment. Yet despite advancing years—Mr. Doyle was sixty-three at the time of his death in August last—despite distractions in the way of farming, dog-breeding, rifle-shooting and interest in politics, education and sport, and despite residence in southern Wales, away from London and other library centres, Mr. Doyle succeeded in finishing his task, a noteworthy accomplishment in the face of advancing ill-health.

During the forty years that have elapsed since Mr. Doyle first turned his attention to American history, and particularly, during the twenty-one years since the second and third volumes were published, the study of our colonial period has made rapid strides in the direction of sounder scholarship, wider range of material employed and more thorough appreciation of the problems involved. Neglected periods and neglected subjects have received attention, and points of view, once parochial, are becoming imperial; in a word, colonial history has shared the general advance of scientific historical study in America. How far Mr. Doyle has co-operated in this movement and how far these volumes, issued after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, are representative of the historical standards of the present day are naturally our first concern when we approach this work for purposes of review.

From Mr. Doyle, as an Englishman, we have a right to expect at least two important contributions to our subject: first, a full and accurate description of the British organs of government, legislation and administration so far as the colonies were concerned, together with an account of the system and incidents of British colonial control; secondly, a thorough and scholarly use of the material in British record repositories, and a consequent addition of new information and new ideas. In view of this expectation, it will surprise the reader to learn that Mr. Doyle has failed to take adequate advantage of the opportunity which residence in England furnished; in nearly all respects his work might better have been written in America than in England; his point of view is persistently provincial; his account of the British system and management is limited to a few scattered paragraphs; and his

material is drawn chiefly from printed books, not always the best or the most recent. As might have been anticipated by students familiar with those libraries, the Bodleian and the British Museum frequently failed to furnish Mr. Doyle with books that would have been readily accessible in America; and although he has made a limited use of the Colonial Office papers in the Record Office, he shows no familiarity with other manuscript material, and his only reference to the Privy Council Register is to a quotation in Palfrey's *History of New England*. Of the *Calendars of State Papers* he has used only those relating to America and the West Indies, and these sparingly and without discrimination. Of the *Calendars of Domestic and Treasury Papers* he apparently knows nothing.

Mr. Doyle's treatment of the problem of British control is open to more serious criticism. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that his volumes should have made their appearance in the same year with Professor Osgood's third volume, which marks the highest point reached thus far in the scientific interpretation of colonial history. Professor Osgood deals with the acts of trade, the councils and committees of trade and plantations and the British management of the royal colonies as an integral and component part of an entire volume. Mr. Doyle pushes them aside as only incidental, massing the greater part of what he has to say in a chapter entitled Administrative Development, a *potpourri* of all sorts of things "administrative", whether local, central, or imperial. The portions of that chapter dealing with the acts of trade are so confusing and incorrect as to be almost unintelligible. The act of 1650 is omitted entirely; the list of enumerated commodities mentioned in the act of 1660 is wrongly given; the account of the act of 1663 says nothing of imported commodities from the Continent, the most important feature of the act; no mention is made of the act of 1672, and, as far as one can tell, Mr. Doyle seems to think that the "plantation duty" was imposed by the act of 1696. In any case, the three lines and a half devoted to that act are otherwise meaningless. Even the Molasses Act is not given correctly. That Mr. Doyle has very little knowledge of the British official establishment in America is shown by his remarks about the few officials whom he mentions and by his failure to discuss in any adequate way the subjects of customs, vice-admiralty, woods and the organization of the royal provinces in general.

It is evident, therefore, that when tested by modern standards Mr. Doyle's work falls far short of the ideal. Volume IV. contains histories of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania from earliest times to 1714, a date selected because it marks the succession of the House of Hanover. Volume V. contains a history of Georgia from 1732 to 1752, an account of the conquest of Canada to 1759, which, curiously enough, refers only incidentally to the fall of Quebec, and a series of chapters containing information on all sorts of subjects, gathered dur-

ing a wide reading of printed sources and arranged under headings that are more or less appropriate. General Conditions of the Colonies, Administrative Development, Economical Progress, are fairly comprehensive terms, and Mr. Doyle has used them to cover everything that he could not put elsewhere, furnishing, as he says, "a convenient, though not a scientific, arrangement of facts". He defends these chapters by saying that "in the eighteenth century the main interest is not internal but external", a statement with which all will not agree. In fact, the leading interest from 1714 to 1755 is internal and not external, and the limitation or exclusion of the powers and functions of the legislative and executive bodies, the adjustment whether by conflict or compromise of the relations between the various members of the bodies politic, and the growth in wealth and experience of the men who were to share in the later conflicts are the leading features of colonial history in the first half of the eighteenth century. These "internal" aspects of his subject Mr. Doyle has, in large part, ignored, and in so doing has but followed the other writers who saw nothing in the middle period of colonial history other than wars and religious revivals.

The narrative histories are good and in some parts excellent. The account of Leisler's rebellion is admirable, and the chapter on Georgia, while diffuse, is well worth reading. Less praise can be given to the chapters on New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which are made unnecessarily uninteresting, particularly in the later portions, while the chapter on the conquest of Canada shows, even more than do the histories of the individual colonies, how much Mr. Doyle has missed in failing to use the great mass of letters, despatches and other documents in the Public Record Office, some of which have recently been printed in the *Pitt Correspondence*. In style, Mr. Doyle has improved upon his earlier work, and his treatment is more direct and less confused. His comments on persons and situations are frequent, and, though somewhat dogmatic in tone and occasionally based on insufficient knowledge of his subject, are thoughtful, judicious and in most cases fair. All that he has to say about Nicolls, Dongan, Hunter, Penn, Shirley, Hutchinson and Oglethorpe is open to little modification. His comments on Andros incline to severity but are not conspicuously unjust. He overstates Bellomont's weaknesses as a party leader and underrates his influence as an administrator and the difficulties of the situation in New York. In judging Nicholson, he seems to leave out of account that governor's later career; and few will agree with him in charging John Winthrop with "a characteristic incapacity to see the real point at issue", with "characteristic compliance", or with "characteristic readiness to substitute his own opinion for the authoritative voice of the colony". He deems the conquest of New Netherland "an unrighteous outrage", as it was, but he is unjust, with an unjustness born of ignorance, when he rebukes Berkeley and Carteret for their "unscrupulous greed" in obtaining New Jersey. To Berkeley, it was but a fair recompense for

the £3500 which he lost in purchasing the Earl of Stirling's rights in Long Island; to Carteret it was but a poor return for his services to Charles I., Charles II. and the Duke of York, for as early as 1649 Charles II. had promised in most affectionate terms to compensate Carteret for his devotion to the late king, and the Duke of York owed something to the man who in 1650 turned his own family out of his castle in Jersey to make room for the duke and his retainers. Mr. Doyle would have spoken more respectfully of Conrad Weiser had he ever read Mr. Walton's life of that interesting personage, and he would probably have been less severe in his comments on the Quakers in Pennsylvania had he consulted Sharpless's *Apologia* for Quaker government or approached the subject from other than the military side. His opinion of North Carolina as the seat of a "dull unreceptive barbarism" and his constant slurs on the people of that colony will not be approved by North Carolinian historians.

Toward the colonies as a whole his tone is sympathetic, indeed almost too much so, for Mr. Doyle has little patience with British stupidity, incapacity and ignorance (*cf.* V. 217, 418, 449).

It is unfortunate that Mr. Doyle's volumes are marred by a large number of errors of fact, misspellings of personal and place names, and offenses against consistency and good form in the make-up of his foot-notes. An enumeration of these blemishes, nearly all of which might have been removed had the proof passed through the hands of a competent American scholar, would occupy too much space and cannot be attempted here. That they are due to carelessness and ignorance and not to faulty proof-reading is evident from the presence in the volumes of but few typographical errors ("essential", "submit", IV. 80, 143; "entitled", and "2875" for 275, V. 43 n., 104 n.). It is hard to understand why an Englishman cannot write Guilford instead of "Guildford", New Haven instead of "Newhaven", New Hampshire instead of "New Hants", but it is harder to see why a scholar should spell Eliot "Elliot", Johnson "Johnstone", Loudoun "Loudon", Phips "Phipps", etc., should locate towns, bridges, ferries and fords where they never existed, should misquote passages taken from original texts, should give wrongly author's names and works (Stainer, Crosse, "Bury" for Barry, Mr. Elking's monograph, *The Dutch Village*, etc.), and should refer to the same volumes or series of volumes in half a dozen different ways. Even more irritating are references to "Pennsylvania Records" and to "Laws of Pennsylvania" without series, volume or page, to "The Colonial Records" without section, volume or bundle, or to such a title as "Colonial Papers, Pennsylvania, 559", a form that I cannot identify; it may be *America and West Indies*, 599, Pennsylvania. References to the printed *Calendar* are often equally obscure, and such sources as "Callaghan", "Mass. Hist. Collection", "Political Quarterly" are to be met with. But we cannot pursue this phase of the subject further. The student

familiar with the literature and sources of colonial history will generally recognize the works to which Mr. Doyle refers and will probably have little difficulty in looking up his references if he care to do so.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony. Canada and the American Revolution. In two volumes. By JUSTIN H. SMITH, Professor of Modern History in Dartmouth College. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xv, 638; xvii, 635.)

RARELY has an author taken more pains to know thoroughly the subject he writes about, than has Professor Smith in his study of the attempt during the Revolutionary War to secure Canada as a member of the American union. Not content with ransacking every known collection of printed material on the subject—government documents, pamphlets, newspapers, biographical matter of every kind—the author has visited the archives here and abroad and has made a tireless examination of every source available. Moreover, he has visited the scenes of the historical events and as a result tells his story with a vividness which adds greatly to the clearness with which we see the historical events. As a result of the great care taken in investigation, we have in these two volumes a definitive account of the subject, amply fortified with references, and with critical notes at the end of each volume. It is a cause for real regret that the author's strivings for literary effects of the tinsel variety have seriously vitiated his work.

So serious are the literary defects of the book that the reviewer cannot honestly pass them by; though he has such real admiration for Professor Smith's zeal and thoroughness in research that he would gladly ignore the errors in taste. To understand this stricture we must have before us some of the examples. A falls (I. 541) becomes under Professor Smith's fine-writing pen "the Ultima Thule of the salmon". A babe, whom the soldiers pass in the forest (I. 540), is "a wee, soft bud on the top shoot of civilization". The men do not *prosaically* fish, but "many a line dropped its barbed invitation into the water". Nor was this mere vulgar water, but "glowed with a pale, golden-blue flush, brightened with quickly vanishing stars where countless invisible wings dipped into invisible dust, and radiant here and there with dimples and smiles" (I. 555). Many such descriptions are thrown in *gratis*, and not because the historical narrative is made more vivid thereby. The soldiers, for example, do not camp in a humdrum place, but where (I. 560) "a pair of great pines towered above some fluttering birches like the cathedral spires above Chartres with a fine young elm keeping guard in front of them all, a soft maple, full of low, rich tones, bending from the point like a Sicilian girl at the fountain".

Not only does the history abound in Theocritean passages of this sort, but there are Dantesque pages as well (I. 592-595; II. 345) where horror piles upon horror, and the sources are ably seconded by the undismayed pen of the author. On page 324 of volume two, "fright, famine, shame, helplessness, the foe, the plague, . . . the dire prospect of total ruin, the grim visage of bloody death,—a ghastly brood,—all shook their black, foul, creaking wings over this wretched débris of huddling, fainting humanity". Lest the reader become too horror-stricken, Professor Smith reassures him (I. 138) "That one yell merely curdled [*sic*] a dream or two." Lest the eye accustomed to the newspaper, the novel and the magazine be displeased with solid pages of print, there are pages with one-line paragraphs of the following sort:

"But arms were needed. A battle against fearful odds, Yes; mere slaughter, No." (II. 278).

Yet the author tells us (I. viii) that his "intention has been to keep the requirements of critical investigation steadily in mind, and accept literary elements only for their sound historical worth". Here we ought to say that the work is not always so critical as it is exhaustive. In a number of cases the elements of several conflicting stories are combined to make one dramatic yarn upon which no critical care has been bestowed (I. 139).

In spite of the serious literary faults, and a considerable amount of material not subjected to rigid criticism, we are not likely to get a better account of this group of events in our Revolutionary history. From the point of view of United States history the whole matter is important chiefly because of what might have been. Yet the reaction of the results or failures of this project upon other affairs in the course of the Revolution have perhaps never been realized as Professor Smith's work will enable us to realize them hereafter.

An outline of the book will suggest the main topics which interest the student of the Revolution. In the chapter called "Roots of Bitterness" the old French régime and the new British régime are outlined to get before us the state of mind of the Canadian people when the struggle began. The second chapter continues this study, with special emphasis on the effect of the Quebec Act, both in Canada and in the thirteen colonies. Professor Smith does not agree with those who argue that the act contained no menace to the colonies southward, and his point is well supported by facts. Ticonderoga and the raids into Canada take up two chapters, and thereafter the attitude of Congress to these acts is fully treated. The wavering attitude of the different classes of Canadian people is shown, and then Congress's decision to send troops to Canada and the assembling of an army under Schuyler is related. The attitude of the Indians in the border country is ably discussed. After a chapter on Schuyler's early efforts "the curtain rises", and the struggle between Carleton and Montgomery is fully detailed, followed by four or five chapters on Arnold's famous expedi-

tion up the Kennebec and the joint assault with Montgomery on Quebec, closing with a series of chapters on the long, weary fight out of Canada. Several following chapters deal with work of the committee sent by Congress, and the Lafayette campaign which Gates made a fiasco. Near the end is the great French-American scheme of co-operation in driving Great Britain from all her American possessions. There are a few plans of Washington's never carried out, and when at last the attempts to win Canada in the peace negotiations fail, the story ends. There is a good index and an uncritical bibliography.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Leading American Soldiers. By R. M. JOHNSTON, M.A., Lecturer in History at Harvard University. [Biographies of Leading Americans, edited by W. P. Trent.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 371.)

THE thirteen chapters of this work are descriptions of the military careers of the thirteen leading soldiers in the history of the American colonies and of the United States. A just sense of proportion and perspective is equally characteristic of the work as a whole, and of the treatment of the several personages. The first two chapters, covering the Revolutionary War are devoted to Washington and Greene. The next three, carrying the reader to the Civil War, are given to Jackson, Taylor and Scott. Of the remaining eight chapters, five are assigned to Northern generals, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, McClellan and Meade; and three to Southern generals, Lee, Jackson and Johnson. These chapters set forth in concise, fluent and effective language the principal achievements of their respective heroes, accompanied with brief general considerations of their merits or defects.

No attempt is made to link the chapters into a consecutive military history of the United States, or into a partial history of the art of war. The class of readers to whom the work is addressed may perhaps be judged from the fact that it contains but six small maps, and is set off with thirteen portraits. The delicate task of comparing the leaders one with another and pronouncing upon their relative ability is judiciously left to the reader. Owing, however, to the lack of maps and plans, the reader will be discouraged from following the author in his descriptions of operations, and be disposed to judge both the latter and the generals executing them by the estimate expressly or apparently placed upon them by the author. Whether he do this or form his own judgment with the aid of suitable maps, he will rise from the perusal of this work with a comprehension of American military character and history which he could hardly acquire from any other single work. He will be confirmed, if need be, in the recognition of George Washington as the Father of his Country, and of Lee and Jackson as the two greatest soldiers produced by the Civil War. He

will be impressed with the brilliancy of Scott's campaign in Mexico, and with the seriousness of the handicap imposed by political exigency upon the generals of a republic. The author's impatience, not to say intolerance, of the latter cannot be commended to an American officer aspiring to high command. There are statements of fact, too, and expressions of opinion, in which he is not altogether reliable.

On August 1, 1864, when Sheridan was detached from the Army of the Potomac to operate against Early in the Shenandoah Valley, Lee was not restricted, as is stated on page 218, to a single line of supply "running due west towards the valley of the Shenandoah". It is admitted a few lines further on that he still had an "avenue of supply and of escape" in the "line of rail running from Petersburg to Lynchburg". In addition, he had at this time the James River Canal, the Richmond and Danville railroad and the Weldon railroad.

It is stated on page 262 that Lee, in resigning his commission in April, 1861, "took the course that was followed by nearly every Southern officer in the United States army". At the outbreak of the Civil War most of the officers of the army were West Point graduates, and there are records to prove that one hundred and sixty-two who were appointed from the South, nearly half of the Southern graduates, remained loyal to the North.

In the Campaign of Chancellorsville, while Jackson was making his flank march towards Hooker's right, Lee remained with a fraction of his army in Hooker's front. This force the author gives on page 293 as a bare 10,000 men and on page 341 as only 10,000 bayonets. Allowing for losses in action the day before, the force under Lee must have numbered about 15,000 infantry besides six batteries of artillery (24 pieces) and a regiment and a half of cavalry.

It is stated that Jackson placed 25,000 men in line of battle in the rear of Howard's corps and of the whole Federal army. Jackson succeeded in placing about 20,000 infantry and some artillery on the flank—not in the rear—of Howard's corps. His artillery for the greater part, he could not use. Coming to the ignominious termination of this campaign, we read: "Hooker, for once, seized the opportunity and did the right thing with promptness: that night he decamped, and on the 6th of May was safely back on the northern bank of the Rappahannock." No greater blunder can be charged to Hooker than this final one. Had he been in position on the morning of his withdrawal, his long wished-for opportunity would have come. Lee would have attacked him on his own ground and would have been easily and sharply repulsed.

The Writings of Samuel Adams. Volume III. Collected and Edited by HARRY ALONZO CUSHING. (New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xvii, 419.)

THIS volume is in some respects disappointing. The first two volumes were so well filled with papers of the first consequence that

one was unwisely tempted to hope that succeeding volumes would be of like character. We have here the writings from March, 1773, to December, 1777, years full of activity, danger and success. But while the progress of the Revolutionary movement up to 1774 can be traced in the letters and public papers that came from the ceaselessly flowing pen of Adams, as soon as the scene is shifted from Massachusetts to Philadelphia and we find ourselves in the midst of national politics and war, the letters of the great conspirator are of interest and of incidental assistance rather than of indispensable service to the historian of the period. There was in fact no wisdom in hoping that this third volume would contain the wealth of material found in the earlier ones. Those contained public papers, protests and resolutions of the town, scathing attacks on Bernard and Hutchinson, and comparatively few private letters. This volume contains chiefly private letters, some communications from the committee of correspondence and only a few public papers. In most cases the committee of correspondence contents itself with transmitting well-chosen periods concerning the value of civil liberty, the unpleasantness of arbitrary power and the worth of union and persistence. The private letters are in a good many instances, if not in all, not very illuminating. To be sure he must talk politics and enlarge upon the vices of those "born and educated among us"; he cannot write to a friend congratulating him on the appearance of a new daughter in the family without leaving the domestic question as soon as decency permits to remind the young father that he should now be more interested than ever in the cause of liberty. The truth is, however, that Samuel was less garrulous and less vain than John, but more wily. He did not care to communicate his political opinions freely to his dear Betsy, as did John to his Portia. In fact even of his conjugal opinions he was chary: "You will believe, my dear Betsy, without the formality of my repeating it to you, that I am, most affectionately." We should much like to know something of the real situation at Philadelphia from the time when Adams first went there till Howe marched in. But you get the slightest comfort from these letters. He probably had the politician's shrewd dislike of writing when isolated oral communication was possible. Probably, too, the story told by John Adams is true: "The letters he wrote and received—where are they? I have seen him at Mrs. Yard's in Philadelphia, when he was about to leave Congress, cut up with his scissors whole bundles of letters in atoms that could never be reunited and throw them out of the window to be scattered by the winds. This was in summer when there was no fire."

Malignant as Adams was, untiring in his denunciation of Hutchinson and unwearied in his endeavor to keep alive resentment to what he considered tyranny, there is no more evidence here than in the earlier volumes that he was far ahead of the other radicals in his desire for independence. In a letter to Arthur Lee, written April 9, 1773, there

is a possible intimation of coming independence; but another year passes before even in his correspondence with Lee he indulges in open threat of separation: "And if the British administration and government do not return to the principles of moderation and equity, the evil which they profess to aim at preventing by their rigorous measures, will the sooner be brought to pass, viz: *the entire separation and independence of the colonies*" (p. 100). As late as this, April, 1774, he was speaking of reconciliation, based on the acquisition of an explicit bill of rights. Even in January, 1775, he declared in a letter to Lee that he earnestly hoped that Lord North "would no longer listen to the Voice of Faction". In short the evidence from these papers appears to be conclusive that far from plotting for independence as early as 1768, as is commonly said on the authority of Wells, he was until 1775 desirous of continuing the union, if it could be maintained on principles that appeared to him just.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

Judah P. Benjamin. By PIERCE BUTLER. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1907. Pp. 459.)

It does not often happen that a book designed to form part of a popular historical series is of great use to the special student of history. The present work is such an exception, and may be commended from both points of view.

Prominent as Benjamin was throughout his active public life, its records present a very unsatisfactory account. Though no recluse, he had no intimate friend whose testimony would be of value in revealing the real personality of this man whose exterior was more than usually illusive; and his extreme care to destroy all letters and personal data forces the student to seek the man in the contradictory public records of his political and legal career. These sources of information are widely scattered and not easily accessible. Mr. Butler's life is the first published attempt to collate all available material and to present the career of the great lawyer and politician as a whole and in detail. The thoroughness with which the work has been done will make this book an excellent guide to the original investigator. The general reader, for whom it is primarily intended, will find it readable and entertaining as well as full of important matter that is likely to be new to him.

Many students will be grateful for the author's researches among the New Orleans newspapers which cover the important political period during the twenty years that precede the Civil War. Here, in the local history of Louisiana, is reproduced with great distinctness an image in miniature of the vast political struggle which foreran the crisis in national affairs. Benjamin's active part in local contests and constitutional conventions is typical of his whole political course. Mr. Butler's account is admirable; but it is doubtful whether he has been

able to dispel much of that vague cloud of suspicion which always overhung Benjamin's actions as long as he took part in politics.

Benjamin's service in the Senate of the United States and his part in secession are told with justice and full appreciation of historical values; but Mr. Butler is less successful in his narrative of Benjamin's diplomatic activity as Secretary of State to the Confederacy. The scarcity of personal data is no doubt responsible for the fact that Benjamin is almost lost sight of in the historical background. For that matter, his part in the government of the Confederacy was in reality not very great. President Davis was the state, and Benjamin played a very secondary, though efficient, part.

Although Mr. Butler's aim has naturally been to give more prominence to the political and historical aspects of Benjamin's life, it is very probable that most readers will find greatest interest in that portion of the biography which describes Benjamin's achievements at the bar of England after the fall of the Confederacy. His career as statesman and politician, though brilliant, has never been freed from charges of intrigue. Nor was he ever, in a high sense of the word, a leader. Being governed too much by expediency, he followed, rather than directed, the course of events and the opinions of his constituents. Nothing but his shrewd facility of foreseeing political changes enabled him to act so promptly as to seem to lead where in reality he was merely drifting with the current. After all, it was as a supremely great lawyer that he won his most worthy distinction; and the hard beginning of his new life in England, after the loss of all political power, reveals for the first time to its full extent the real heroism as well as the supreme ability of the man. His character stands out nobler, stronger and more certain, as if he had found himself and his true work. Most sympathetically and inspiringly has Mr. Butler told this story of struggle and triumph. Here indeed the true greatness of the man appears in the free exercise of his natural powers in the work for which he was specially and supremely endowed.

If Mr. Butler had done no more than collect for the first time all the available material for this important life, his work would be of great value; but in addition to remarkable diligence and accuracy in gathering and presenting his facts he has shown the requisite breadth of view and justice in dealing with the controversial points which come up. Moreover, he has written with great care for the literary construction of his work, and has produced a most readable, as well as a most valuable, book.

ALBERT PHELPS.

The American Nation: A History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume XXIII. *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1865-1877). By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph.D., LL.D., Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy, Columbia University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1907. Pp. xvi, 378.)

THE frontispiece of this volume is a portrait of Thaddeus Stevens. Seven maps assist the exposition in various ways. There are twenty-two chapters, the last an invaluable Critical Essay on Authorities, naming and appraising all the important documents on Reconstruction now accessible. There is an author's preface and an editor's introduction.

Chapters i. and ii. deal with the Southern whites and state governments, and with the negroes, as factors in the post-bellum situation at the South; iii., iv. and v. with the presidential and the congressional policy for reconstruction; vi. and vii. with the actual process thereof; ix. and x. with various domestic and international matters from the war to 1873. Chapters xi. to xviii. consider negro suffrage, evil social, economic and political conditions, South and North, and the Southern upheaval bringing suppression of black suffrage; while xix., xx. and xxi. detail the Hayes-Tilden presidential struggle and electoral commission.

Mr. Dunning's book is of extraordinary excellence. If his style in the earlier chapters is at points a bit cumbrous, it is forcible and smooth enough as he warms to his work. His mastery of the subject and of its literature is ideally thorough. His analysis of causes and situations is keen and correct. He admirably seizes and states essential problems, "nutshell" explanations of imbroglios and knotty points being his forte. The leading episodes and questions connected with reconstruction, the attempted impeachment of President Johnson, the Credit Mobilier, the Whisky Ring fight, the campaign of 1872, the many puzzles long attaching to the 1876 election, and so on, receive here the neatest brief and accurate presentation extant. The account of the great court decisions touching reconstruction is peculiarly valuable.

Both subjects and men are treated with eminent fairness and justice. Few will longer balk at the author's view that the Lincoln-Johnson project for rehabilitating the Southern states after the war was saner than the "radical and revolutionary" policy brutally pushed through by Congress. The book cordially recognizes the patience, patriotism and, in the main, wisdom shown by the Southern people proper in the terrible and to a great extent, needless sufferings through which they were made to pass.

Dunning gives considerable praise to President Johnson without, however, making him a saint or a sage. Seward's splendid services after the war receive due mention. Stanton he considers (p. 91) a

"strange personage, whose amazing record of duplicity strongly suggests the vagaries of an opium-eater".

The character and administration of President Grant, "a narrow, headstrong and politically untutored military chief", some will think painted too dark, but, we fear, the author is essentially right. He certainly is in his thought of Sumner, who, he says (p. 87) "lived in the empyrean, and descended thence upon his colleagues with dogmas which he discovered there. . . . He would shed tears at the bare thought of refusing to freedmen rights of which they had no comprehension, but would filibuster to the end of the session to prevent the restoration to the southern whites of rights which were essential to their whole conception of life. He was the perfect type of that narrow fanaticism which erudition and egotism combine to produce." Butler, Greeley, John Sherman, Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Wilson and Colfax are freely criticized.

"The failure of the effort to get rid of Johnson was due to the votes of seven senators" who had voted with the radicals. Of the seven, Fessenden, Grimes and Trumbull opposed impeachment "on the highest considerations of statesmanship". Ross and Van Winkle also voted to save the President but subsequently tainted their act by seeking favors from him, "in a suggestive contrast to Fessenden, who declined to endorse a friend's application for a place on the express ground 'that such an act would, under the circumstances, expose me (him) to offensive imputations'".

While much more might be said in praise of Professor Dunning's performance, a word of contrary tenor will perhaps not be amiss.

Would not the title of chapter XVIII., "The Nadir of National Disgrace", read more felicitously thus: "The Acme of National Disgrace", or thus: "The Nadir of National Honor"?

It would seem that no loss but much gain must follow the disuse, in discussing the Civil War and its results, of expressions like "rebel", "conquerors" and "conquered". Pacific terms, equally clear and scientific, are at hand. To the word "rebel", in particular, strong objection is possible on historico-legal grounds.

The criticism of the Supreme Court (p. 256, 257) for what appears on the surface a shifty course in dealing with unconstitutional acts of Congress during reconstruction, seems to us over-severe. The court's procedure under the distressing circumstances will, we believe, be generally pronounced wise.

The author's thought of his field is not quite self-consistent. It wavers between "the process" and "the period" of reconstruction, the treatment not exactly answering either conception. He of course omits much history belonging to the period, yet brings in not a few matters, like the Beecher scandal and the construction of the first transcontinental railway, which are remotely if at all connected with the process of reconstruction.

On the other hand—a worse fault and the only one we find in the book that is at all serious—his presentation falls short at one point of what his task would seem to call for in any view whatever. It is somewhat onesided and “northern”, not in temper or purpose, in both which respects it is commendably broad, but in matter. The extreme and dangerous “bumptiousness” of the freedmen as a cause of Southern troubles is not sufficiently described or emphasized. Also too little effort is made to present from the inside the Southern whites’ reaction; to show how their rise from the stupor of defeat and the menace of black rule was inspired, stimulated, guided, organized—the “underground work” of all sorts that must have been performed in homes, shops, stores, lodges, clubs and other private circles to have led Southern Saxondom to its victorious rally against threatening barbarism. Materials for such a portrayal are no doubt difficult to gather. They exist, however, and can be reached. A chapter or two of this nature displaying the historian’s power as the actual book does would much enhance its value, already great and lasting.

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS.

The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba. In three volumes. By Captain HERBERT H. SARGENT, U. S. A. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1907. Pp. xii, 274; 236; 268.)

THE first of these volumes contains, besides a short preface by the author, a discussion of the strategic problem, including a consideration of the relative strength of the Spanish and American navies and the state of our coast defenses; a historical review of the British descents upon the island of Cuba in 1741 and 1762; and an account of the operations of the American fleet up to the blockading of Cervera’s fleet in Santiago harbor. The second volume describes the military and naval operations from the sailing of the Fifth Corps under Shafter to the destruction of Cervera’s fleet off Santiago. The third volume contains one chapter devoted to the siege and capitulation of Santiago and the re-embarkation of the Fifth Corps, and one of eighty pages made up of general comments on recent changes in the military art, the fortune of war, the military policy of the United States, the navy and the army. The remaining eighty-four pages are appendixes. These are followed by an index, from which such important words as Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Insurgents, Insurrection, Volunteers (except Spanish) are omitted.

Each chapter ends with a section entitled Comments. These, together with the chapter on General Comments, are nearly equal in volume to the narrative portion of the work; together with the appendixes they exceed the narrative portion. The text is illustrated with a dozen excellent maps, which, though they do not generally represent the troops, enable the reader to follow the narrative without difficulty.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XIII.—25.

The work is dedicated to Elihu Root, "in admiration of what he did for the improvement of our little army when he was secretary of war". The author has not set forth the shortcomings of the army before the war in a way to impress the reader with the magnitude of the reform to which he refers in his dedication. He seems disposed to avoid or disregard the faults and defects of the old army and the old militia. Referring to the *ante bellum* training of the army, he says: "it was carefully and persistently drilled; and as far as circumstances would permit, practised in field manœuvres and tactical problems, under conditions resembling as nearly as possible those of actual war. . . . The majority of the officers, too, impelled by a sense of duty, and a love for their profession, had through hard work, become highly proficient in their duties. . . . Fortunate is the nation that can always in time of peril command the services of as able and highly-trained officers as were those of the United States army at the beginning of the Spanish-American War." One might think from these statements that there was not much in the army to reform, that it was pretty well governed and administered. No, the army was not practised in field exercises as far as circumstances would permit; and while the officers who had attained a high degree of proficiency in their duties may have constituted a numerical majority of those on the army list, their number may be considered as overbalanced by the rank of those who were sadly deficient in attainments. These higher officers in many cases could not have become proficient by any amount of work. They had not the troops, the *terrain*, the supplies, in short, the means of gaining the practise necessary to the attainment of proficiency. The author is silent on the rampant nepotism and political influence that governed for a time the appointment of officers to the volunteer army. He says nothing about the "embalmed beef" and the war investigating commission, about the difference between Sampson and Shafter as to the plan of co-operation agreed upon; he exhibits, but refrains from characterizing, General Wheeler's violation of orders in marching his division ahead of Lawton's, and bringing on the engagement of Las Guasimas. He passes lightly over the discreditable behavior of the 71st N. Y. at San Juan. Regarding the questionable tactics of the 33d Michigan, he says: "This attack was intended merely as a feint for the purpose of detaining the Spaniards at Aguadores, and thus preventing any of them from reënforcing Linares." But he does not tell us whether the attack accomplished this purpose or was executed in a form, or with a spirit, suited to its accomplishment. The Sampson-Schley controversy is not mentioned.

On the other hand, he describes and discusses the grand strategy and tactics of the campaign with great clearness, showing a strong grasp of his subject in all its aspects, naval, military, historical, geographical, statistical, etc. The works that have appeared heretofore, treating of the Spanish-American War, have been seriously defective in their

numerical data. The work before us is about perfect in this respect. In addition to the figures distributed through the text, we find in the appendixes a wealth of statistics on the campaign, obtained through the State Department from the Spanish government. These are invaluable to the student of the war, and are probably nowhere else to be found published together. Among the other valuable tables in the appendixes is one of distances in nautical miles and in statute miles between important points in the theatre of war, and a statement of the casualties in Shafter's army by regiment. One of these documents, however, appendix X., is likely to prove misleading. It consists of a table and comments taken from an article in the *North American Review*. The table gives the several wars in which the United States has been engaged and for each of these a row of statistics under the headings Regulars, Militia, etc., Opponents, Cost, Pensions. There is nothing to indicate whether the figures under the first three headings stand for naval as well as land forces, or whether those under the last two headings cover the naval as well as the land expenditures, as they may be presumed to do; nor whether those under the first two headings stand for men in the service at any particular time, or for men enlisted in the course of the war, or for enlistments (including re-enlistments) during the war.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the American authorities did not know even approximately the number of troops in Cuba. Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee testified before a Senate committee that there were probably ninety-seven or ninety-eight thousand Spanish soldiers in the island. General Miles came nearer the truth, estimating the number at one hundred and fifty thousand. When Shafter landed in Cuba with his 16,887 officers and men, the Spanish troops in the island, regular and irregular, numbered about 200,000, and those in the province of Santiago 36,582; the Cuban insurgents in the island numbered but about 15,000, and those in the province of Santiago about 5,000. Of the latter, about 1,000 joined General Shafter and co-operated directly, but not very actively, with him. Yet, with these tremendous odds against them, the Americans outnumbered their opponents in two of the three engagements that took place—the attack of El Caney and the attack of San Juan. The former, only, was seriously resisted. Here the Spaniards numbered about 600, the American more than 6,000. General Lawton had engaged to take the place in a couple of hours, and was kept at it from half past six in the morning until about half past four in the afternoon, the enemy having lost in killed and wounded 49 per cent. of his strength, including the gallant General Vara de Rey, in command. The American loss was 7 per cent. of the force engaged. The emergency justified a heavier loss, and called for more vigorous tactics on the part of the offensive. Had General Lawton been “as far as circumstances would permit, practised in field

manœuvres and tactical problems, under conditions resembling as nearly as possible those of actual war", he would not have spent ten hours in carrying a position, with a preponderance in infantry of ten to one, and in artillery of four pieces to none, over the enemy. The artillery supporting the attack was but a fourth of the force accompanying the expedition. Being short of ammunition before the action commenced, it fired only intermittently, and with black powder at that.

The battle of San Juan was little else than an outpost affair. The Spanish forces actually engaged numbered about 1,200 officers and men. Practically all the fighting, says the author, was done by the first line, which consisted of about 521 officers and men. The American forces actually engaged numbered about 8,400 officers and men.

Las Guasimas was a rear-guard action in which the Spaniards numbered 1,500 and the American 964. "The records show", says Captain Sargent, "that the Spanish general had no intention of making a determined stand there. . . . It is clear now that if General Wheeler had not pushed forward so hurriedly from Siboney, no engagement would have taken place at Las Guasimas. . . . But at the time, it appeared to the Americans that the Spaniards at Las Guasimas were very anxious to maintain their position; and the fact that they were apparently driven back after two or three hours of determined fighting greatly encouraged the American troops."

Captain Sargent is the author of a history of *Napoleon Bonaparte's First Campaign* and of *The Campaign of Marengo*. The distinction which he has justly earned from these works is likely to be enhanced by the popular appreciation in store for *The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba*.

JOHN BIGELOW, JR.

History of the Canal System of the State of New York, together with Brief Histories of the Canals of the United States and Canada. In two volumes. [Supplement to the Annual Report of the State Engineer and Surveyor, 1905.] By NOBLE E. WHITFORD, Resident Engineer. (Albany: State Legislative Printer, 1906. Pp. viii, 1025; vi, 1029-1547.)

THE author has here presented a voluminous history of the canal system of New York. The text is based largely upon canal reports and assembly documents. The authorities have manifestly been very closely followed—too closely at times for the best results. The unceasing quotation in great length from the opinions of engineers, auditors and governors, and the annalistic form rather weary and confuse the reader. However, the work is probably what the author would claim it to be—a documentary history of the building, enlarging and improving of the canals from the beginning to the recent decision for a barge canal system. The fact that the author is an engineer determines that great attention has been given to the minutiae of canal improvement

from the engineer's view-point. That portion of the work which is devoted to the various official experiments and the prizes offered for private demonstrations upon different forms of mechanical propulsion for canal boats and improvements in lockage devices, constitutes by itself an important contribution to existing literature on the subject. To the students of transportation, the competitive struggle of the state canals and private railroad undertakings and the methods employed by the state to protect its property in the unequal contest, are of exceptional value. New York went into the canal business with the expectation that it would pay in revenue returns, and when it saw these shrinking before railroad competition it forced the latter to reimburse the treasury for the losses. Railroads were required to pay to the canal fund the same tolls as were charged by the Erie Canal. The legislature did not remove the protective tax until 1851 and then only after a long legislative fight between the interested parties. Another important element of canal policy in New York which has been emphasized was the gradual growth of a toll-free list carried by the canals. This culminated in the constitutional amendment which took effect January 1, 1883, prohibiting all tolls. From that date the state ceased to derive any revenue from its canals. That is, to save an expensive canal system the state made them free highways. The Erie Canal unlike a great many others seems to have been a good financial undertaking for the state of New York (I. 837).

One chapter treats of the economic and social influence of the Erie Canal. Elaborate statistical tables from which the author deduces his conclusions are published in the appendix. "Literal precision" in the conclusions upon the influence of canals is very properly disavowed. At times there seems to be a tendency to disregard other forces than the canals in effecting the distribution of population and the development of land values and business interests. It is a complex and difficult problem to estimate the relative influence of causes in the rapid development of a new territory. It must be said, however, that the author's conclusions are very moderate and sane. The first volume ends with a chronological résumé of important laws and events connected with the canal system. The second volume is a miscellany of statistical tables and diagrams of canal structures of interest to engineers, biographical sketches of canal engineers of no more than local interest and passing value, a bibliography, and historical sketches of canals in other parts of the world. The portion of the latter that is devoted to canals in the United States contains many errors. For the canals outside of the United States, selections from Mr. O. P. Austin's *Great Canals of the World*, published in the *Summary of Commerce and Finance*, U. S. Treasury Department, May, 1902, are reprinted by permission. The bibliographical list of canal literature in the New York State Library and the New York Law Library is excellent for completeness, practical arrangement and useful explanatory notes.

If the author had seen fit to condense, sift and correlate his material more thoroughly with reference to certain larger aspects of the subject in state policies, the work would appeal with greater force to scholars. As it is it is worth the doing. The whole is so well indexed that the reader can easily discover the subjects of special interest.

ELBERT JAY BENTON.

MINOR NOTICES

History of the Langobards, By Paul the Deacon. Translated by William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1907, pp. xliii, 437.) This is volume III. of the new series of translations and reprints published by the University of Pennsylvania. A translation of the *History of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours also is announced, so that this series is evidently to include translations of whole chronicles.

The volume in hand contains a complete translation of the *Historia Langobardorum*, with an introduction on the life and writings of Paul the Deacon, and three appendixes (Ethnological Status of the Langobards, Sources of Paul's History, and Paul the Deacon's Poems in Honor of St. Benedict). Appendix II. includes a translation of the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*; the poems in appendix III. are those inserted by Paul in the text of the history, book I., chapter xxvi.

Mr. Foulke's translation is correct, but rather commonplace. It is of course easier to make such a criticism than it is to establish within the limits of a brief review the justice of it, or to show how the fault criticized should be avoided. It does seem, however, that the translator has been content with producing a literal rendering of the Latin, when the search for real English equivalents and for happier turns of expression might have resulted in the production of a translation at once accurate and pleasing.

There are a great many foot-notes to the translation. The longer notes (some of them cover four or five pages with only one line of the translation on each page) are very largely made up of paraphrases of the authorities consulted, always, to be sure, with references to the sources from which they are taken.

This is true also of the introduction and the first two appendixes—they are mainly paraphrases of the work of the principal authorities on the Lombards and on the writings of Paul the Deacon. The result is that they do not have the tone and the interest of original work.

When all is said and done, however, Mr. Foulke has presented an accurate translation (the first one in English) of this important source, and has supplied it with very full "apparatus". This is to render a genuine service to teachers and students of medieval history.

E. H. McNEAL.

Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier, Roi de France. Par Frederic Soehnée. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques. 161^e fascicule.] (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 145.) M. Soehnée's slender volume is apparently all that we are destined to see of the *Étude sur la Vie et la Règne d'Henri I.* which he presented as a thesis at the École des Chartes in 1891. The plan of a general work upon the reign seems to have been abandoned, and the catalogue of acts appears without the diplomatic introduction which one has a right to expect in such a publication, indeed, without any introduction whatever. Still the catalogue was worth preparing, and with the publication of M. Prou's long-expected volume on Philip I., we shall at last have the series of *regesta* for the Capetian sovereigns complete to the accession of St. Louis. Only those who have tried to do similar work will realize how much search through manuscript collections and out-of-the-way publications has been necessary in order to get together the one hundred and twenty-five documents or mentions of lost documents which constitute the catalogue. No new originals have been found, and of those which exist in copies only eight charters (nos. 16, 19, 32, 61, 62, 74, 83, 100) and four references (nos. 13, 20, 34, 93) are not already in print. M. Soehnée fails to observe that no. 27 has been printed by Delisle (*Histoire de S. Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, pièces, no. 8), and he could have made its date more precise if he had seen the original, which exists, along with a *vidimus*, in MS. Lat. 16738 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. No documents are printed in full, but the labor of analyzing, dating and identifying place-names seems to have been carefully done, and the various copies and editions are scrupulously indicated.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Guibert de Nogent. Histoire de sa Vie (1053-1124). [Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire.] Publiée par Georges Bourgin, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907, pp. lxiii, 249.) Few works in the splendid *Collection de Textes* have probably been looked forward to with more impatience by students of medieval history than Guibert de Nogent's *De Vita Sua*. Hitherto it has only been available in Bouquet and Migne, though Guizot included it in his convenient collection of translations. The appearance of a critical, annotated edition in a single volume is very welcome. Always an inimitable source of French history at the time of the first crusade, Guibert de Nogent has acquired new value in these later years because of the light he casts upon the culture side of history. M. Bourgin has prefaced the edition by an elaborate and critical study of the text and added a bibliography upon Guibert de Nogent which extends to three pages—enough in itself to show the value and interest in him. It is to be regretted, however, that Guibert's treatise on relics, *De Sanctis et Pignoribus Sanctorum*, which is only available in D'Achery's edition of 1651, could not have been included in the present work.

A Short History of Wales. By Owen Edwards. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. xii, 139.) Mr. Owen Edwards, whose services to Welsh literature, both as author and as editor, are numerous, has already produced two short histories of the principality, *Hanes Cymru*, written in Welsh and not yet brought down to include the modern period, and the volume entitled *Wales* in the "Story of the Nations" series. The latter of these, in spite of some serious defects, is the best existing popular account of Welsh history, and the *Short History* now in hand is really only a briefer presentation of the same material. It covers the ground in 128 small pages. The reader, according to the preface, is assumed to know nothing of the subject, and the tone of the book is most elementary throughout. Brevity and simplicity have been successfully attained, but clearness is occasionally sacrificed to the extreme condensation. The reader is not always supplied with necessary information. In the chapter on Howell Harris, for example, Mr. Edwards generalizes about the work of that religious leader without once stating clearly what he did; and in another place, similarly, the activity of Vavasour Powell is referred to without any definite explanations. All the important phases of Welsh religion—paganism, the conversion, monasticism, the Franciscan revival, the Reformation, the Catholic reaction, Puritanism and Evangelicalism—are passed in review in a single page, which must convey very inadequate notions to such readers as the book is meant to serve. In these ways the *Short History* is less clear and less adapted to beginners than the earlier volume, which was itself small and inexpensive; and there has been an accompanying loss in interest. Still the outline cannot fail to be of use to many readers. The material is well chosen with a view to its importance, and the treatment is by no means dry. There is, if anything, too much expression of personal judgments and too little objective recital of facts. But, due allowance being made for this quality, the account is in general trustworthy; and the present volume is free from some of the faults, such as a bias toward the interests of North Wales, which were criticized in the earlier work.

Études et Documents sur l'Histoire de Bretagne (XIII^e–XVI^e Siècles). Par l'Abbé G. Mollat. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 254.) The Abbé Mollat has plainly been inspired by the work of the late Father Denifle in preparing this collection of documents. The kind of manuscripts he has chosen to edit and the method he has adopted are evidence of this to one who is familiar with the great work of the late prefect of the Vatican archives, although the editor does not state this fact until he reaches the fourteenth century (p. 185).

The selections chiefly illustrate church law and institutions, especially the finances of the church, in the later Middle Ages. No. 24, which deals with the provisioning of the papal court at Avignon, and no. 32 on the collection of the annate in the diocese of Nantes, are

particularly interesting. The first of these is in the nature of a *pièce justificative* to the author's recent study, *La Fiscalité Pontificale en France au XIV^e Siècle* (1905). The second one consists of a large number of excerpts from the *Collectoria*, illustrating the mechanism of church finance, but their bearing can hardly be perceived from the mere reading of them. They need to be studied in the light of the Abbé Mollat's recent article in the *Annales de Bretagne*, and his larger work alluded to above. The violence of the age is illustrated by the first selection in the book, which deals with a conflict between the bishop of Rennes and a rebellious vassal against whom the bishop attempted to proceed according to the laws of the church, and for this purpose delegated his powers to a priest. The ferocious viscount burst into the monastery of St. Melaine, seized the luckless priest and, putting his sword to his throat, compelled him to eat the letter of the bishop.

John Locke: Ses Théories Politiques et leur Influence en Angleterre. Les Libertés Politiques; L'Église et l'État; La Tolérance. Par Ch. Bastide, Docteur és Lettres, Professeur Agrégé au Lycée Charlemagne. (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1907, pp. 397.) This volume is a detailed study of the political ideas of Locke with especial attention to their relation to contemporary currents of thought. Locke is presented as the great champion of religious toleration, the official apologist for the Revolution and the most important political philosopher of his time. His theory of toleration is developed at some length and a degree of importance attached to his work, which, in view of what had been already accomplished by Milton and Spinoza, seems scarcely justifiable.

The political doctrines of Locke are less lucidly expounded by the author than his religious ideas. The description of the political phases of his philosophy is not very effective and Locke's position in the general field of political theory is not very clearly stated. In particular, the influence of Pufendorf and Spinoza is not appreciated or even mentioned in a discussion which includes many other less important writers.

On the whole, this study, although carefully and laboriously wrought out in its details, really adds little to the knowledge of Locke's political theory and influence already available in works like Professor Dunning's *History of Political Theories*, and Graham's *English Political Philosophy*. The author fails to appreciate that harmonious relation between Locke's philosophy and the English constitutional system which was the prime cause of Locke's immediate and extended influence in England, as well as the explanation of some contradictions and inconsistencies in his theories.

Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph und die Geschichtsphilosophische Bewegung seiner Zeit. Von E. Menke-Glückert. [Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, herausgegeben von Karl Lamprecht. Erstes Heft.] (Leipzig, R. Voigtländer, 1907, pp. 146.) It is the aim of Menke-Glückert to prove that Goethe so far from being indifferent to

history, as has so often been believed even by historians of note, was as original a thinker in his conceptions of history as he was in his conceptions of nature. The author shows that both the poet's native city, Frankfurt, and the scene of his early studies, Alsace, were fraught with historical reminiscences which bred in him a powerful interest in the past; so much so that in 1770 Koch and Oberlin, historians living in Strassburg, suggested his becoming private docent in history at the university there. For a time, however, his desire to comprehend the physical universe absorbed his attention to the exclusion of the historical interest. Later, by applying his scientific method of approach, he attained to a conception of human phenomena as an organic growth subject to unvarying laws; and to an appreciation of the great importance of environment, as in his biographies of Cellini, Winckelmann and in the story of his own life. The question may well be asked: Had anyone before written biography in so modern a spirit? The author should here have pointed out that even as early as 1786-1788, years before the publication of his historical studies, in his *Tagebücher aus Italien*, Goethe constantly tries to understand the appearance, habits, customs, history of the people as resultants of forces.

The scientific bias again appears in Goethe's intensely critical attitude towards all historical tradition, and his fear of a subjective interpretation of documents. Hence his apparent hostility to history and historians. The author has excellently developed Goethe's originality in the field of the philosophy of history. His zeal carries him too far, however, when he claims for Goethe a real comprehension of the culture-value of the Middle Ages or of Gothic architecture (p. 48). This he may be said never to have exhibited, in spite of the *Goetz* and the youthful essay on the Strassburg cathedral. Both of these were expressions rather of enthusiasm for powerful individualities. On the other hand, Menke-Glückert brings out the fact—often overlooked—that Goethe, through his *Anhang zur Lebensbeschreibung des Benvenuto Cellini, bezüglich auf Sitten, Kunst und Technik* was a pioneer in the critical study of the Renaissance and the inspirer of Burckhardt.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

Kléber en Vendée (1793-1794). Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par H. Baguenier Desormeaux. (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1907, pp. xxxvii, 565.) Possibly that Kléber was an Alsatian, and moreover a Strassburger, not only by birth but also in his personal characteristics, has added somewhat to the genuine interest which should attach to this able and patriotic general. The biographies of Lubert d'Héricourt (1801), Ernouf (1867), Pajol (1877) and Klæber (1900), and Desprez's *Kléber et Marceau* (1857, second edition, 1881), besides no less than a score of popular accounts, testify to the importance and popularity of Kléber. A collection of 325 letters and orders of Kléber appeared in the volume *Kléber et Menou en*

Égypte edited by F. Rousseau and published in 1900 by the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine. Now the same society presents a second volume containing the documents which cover his career in the Vendée from August, 1793, to May, 1794. Kléber arrived in the Vendée in command of the advance guard of the garrison of Mayence and for six weeks was employed in the région southeast of Nantes between Montaigu and Cholet. After the victory of Cholet (October 17, 1793), which was largely due to his efficiency and courage, he followed the Vendéans across the Loire, and shared in the pursuit and skirmishes during the two months of the Vendéans' march to the sea and back to the Loire, and in their final defeats at Le Mans (December 12) and at Savenay (December 23). The cowardice and incompetence of Léchelle and Rossignol, and his devoted friendship for the brilliant young Marceau compelled Kléber to bear the brunt of this trying but successful campaign. In January, Turreau, the new commander, rusticated Kléber to the unimportant command of Chateaubriant because of his disapproval of the policy of the "infernal columns". The next month, Rossignol summoned him to direct the mobilization of a force at Saint-Malo for an attack upon the Channel Islands. The withdrawal of troops from interior points for this futile scheme permitted the rising of the Chouans. Kléber forthwith turned his attention to the distasteful task of hunting down these Chouans in the vicinity of Fougères, Vitré, Laval and Craon. After six weeks of this uncongenial employment, Kléber welcomed the opportunity he had long sought of accepting a command in the Army of the North, and left the West about May 5, 1794.

This volume contains an introduction by the editor, whose name is already familiar through some studies in Vendéan history; the Memoirs of Kléber on his Vendéan campaign to the battle of Savenay, probably compiled with Savary's assistance during the weeks of enforced leisure at Chateaubriant; the orderly-book of Kléber; sixty miscellaneous documents relating to Kléber in the Vendée; abundant editorial notes with valuable biographical and geographical information; an index and a map; but no table of contents. Some typographical errors have not been listed among the errata, and a few blunders may be noted.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France depuis 1789 aux Archives Nationales. Par Charles Schmidt, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales, Docteur ès Lettres. Avec une Lettre-Préface de M. A. Aulard, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 288.) A few years ago M. Schmidt published in the *Revue de la Révolution Française* an article on the "Sources de l'Histoire d'un Département aux Archives Nationales". His present book has grown out of this article in the sense that the general use made of the article has been a most effective argument for such a book. It is also intended partly as a

supplement to *L'État Sommaire* published in 1891 by M. Servois, then director of the archives. The special aim of M. Schmidt's book is to serve students of French local history, who have explored thoroughly the local collections and who look to the National Archives for further material, because, as M. Schmidt remarks, "Toute affaire un peu importante aboutit administrativement à Paris." It also aims to serve students of the period since 1789 who desire to investigate the whole situation, both central and local, at a given moment.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first contains a description of the archives and the building in which they are installed, and explains the steps by which the searcher for material must begin his work. The practical value of these indications is apparent to any who have had the experience of beginning researches there without "knowing the ropes". The inexperienced are warned especially against inscribing on the *bulletins* requests for documents on general topics. The first part of the volume also includes bibliographical directions in regard to the printed and manuscript inventories which are accessible in the *salle de travail*, with mention of others in course of preparation. Part II. is equally helpful to the beginner, for it contains summary indications on the principal series which should be consulted by one investigating any of the important phases of French history from 1787 to 1856. These twenty-two pages are actually a little guide to the proper investigation of French contemporary history. The third part gives in alphabetical order the series in which are classed the documents relative to the same period. This must be used in connection with *L'État Sommaire*, for M. Schmidt does not duplicate the indications furnished by that work. It is noted, whenever necessary, whether the departmental material is classed and inventoried or whether this work is in process of completion. By combining the suggestions given in part II. with the indications of this part, the searcher should have no difficulty in discovering all the material available in the archives. He is occasionally informed that as a particular series is being classed it will be necessary to utilize the services of the archivists to learn exactly what is available. Wherever printed works may help the searcher, M. Schmidt mentions these in a note. He adds a brief bibliography of them at the end. Incidentally he argues for the enlargement of the building in which the archives are housed, in order that material now scattered in the archives of the various ministries and of other services may be concentrated at the National Archives.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

The Bibliographer's Manual of American History, containing an Account of all State, Territory, Town and County Histories relating to the United States of North America, with Verbatim Copies of their Titles and useful Bibliographical Notes, together with the Prices at which they have been sold for the last forty years. Compiled by

Thomas Lindsley Bradford, M.D. Edited and revised by Stan. V. Henkels. Volume I., A to E, nos. 1 to 1600. (Philadelphia, Stan. V. Henkels and Company, 1907, pp. ix, 340.) Mr. Henkels in his introductory remarks says that this book is "the most valuable bibliography that has ever been placed before the American public", and the author himself, in a portion of his long title which has not been quoted above, admits that his compilation forms "an Invaluable Reference for the Use of the Librarian, the Historian, the Collector, and the Bookseller". In reality, it is not quite all this. On the contrary, its usefulness is impaired by some serious defects. Yet almost any bibliography which makes an approach to being what it purports to be is a useful instrument, and this one in particular may be received with gratitude, though with some reserves. It is not at first easy to be sure just what the volume may be expected to contain. The title quoted above shows in how restricted a sense it is "a bibliographer's manual of American history". The preface makes further limitations, but with a decided want of clearness. "Church history has been omitted, unless also especially devoted to town history" (which it usually is). "Books entirely devoted to genealogy and biography are not included unless in cases in which they are supplemental to town history." On the other hand, state gazetteers have been included. The main general defect, from the point of view of students, as distinct from book-buyers, is that the arrangement is alphabetical by authors, regardless of the geographical subject, though the latter is the all-important thing, in a book which is practically a list of local histories. That an alphabetical subject-index will at the end be presented in a separate volume alleviates the student's inconvenience, but no more. Great pains have been taken to ensure correctness in the titles. In the case of titles in other languages than English, however, there are many errors, and the punctuation often shows that the compiler does not understand such titles. In no. 8 (Acrelius) there are thirteen errors, and the naïveté of the annotations is shown by the quoting here, from an old catalogue of Frederik Muller's, of a lament that no complete translation exists, while no. 9 is Reynolds's complete translation, published thirty-three years ago. The prices, a large feature of the book, are quoted in no order. At no. 163, A. S. Bachellor should be A. S. Batchellor, and should therefore be placed no. 286. None of Alexander Brown's important works on Virginian history are cited. Nos. 615 and 616, well-known Illinois pamphlets by W. H. Brown, are attributed to Dr. William Hand Browne of Maryland. No. 667 is set under the name of Charles Todd Burr, instead of Charles Burr Todd. No. 1524, *New Englands First Fruits*, should not be attributed to John Eliot without new-found reasons.

Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618. Edited by W. L. Grant. [*Original Narratives of Early American History*, edited by

J. F. Jameson. Volume IV.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. xiii, 377.) The fact that the previous training of the newly-elected Beit Lecturer on Colonial History at Oxford made him an obviously appropriate person to edit a volume dealing with early Canada, rendered it none the less a most graceful act on the part of the general editor of the "Original Narratives of Early American History" to ask Mr. Grant to prepare the Champlain volume for that series. The result justifies the confident impression already well established that much sound historical work may be expected from this innovation in the English university equipment. Mr. Grant's introduction and notes are scholarly and sufficient, and well within the bounds of what is called for by the necessary limitations of the general reader, for whose use, quite as much as for that of college students in history, this series is designed.

Like some of the other volumes of the series, the Champlain, despite the excellence of Mr. Grant's work, will perforce suffer in popular estimation from the limitations inevitably imposed upon serial trade publications. The naïveté of the explanations of the reason for omitting certain portions of the original texts, while endeavoring to convince the reader that he is getting all that he would be interested in, and the omission of any explanation regarding the inclusion of only two illustrations and one map, although excellent reasons for omitting the other twenty-odd will suggest themselves to any one familiar with the originals, must operate to produce a certain doubt in the user's mind and a desire to see for himself what is left out. To those who cannot have access to the more bulky and less readable volumes of the French text or the complete edition of the translation reprinted in this series, Professor Jameson has rendered a service of great importance, by placing within the reach of every one quite as much of these texts as will interest any who are not engaging in special research.

G. P. W.

German Religious Life in Colonial Times. By Lucy Forney Bittinger. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. 145.) This work, like *The Germans in Colonial Times* by the same writer, is a compilation made to a large extent from secondary sources, and presented in popular form for the lay-reader. The title of the book is misleading. A more appropriate title would have been "Historic Sketches of the German Sects in Colonial Times". The work presents brief summaries of general facts relating to the external history of the Separatists (Mennonites, Dunkers, etc.), the church people (Reformed, Lutherans), the Moravians (with some reference to the Schwenkfelders) and the Methodists. Another chapter is devoted to the German sects during the Revolution. The book closes with a general conclusion to the preceding chapters. The matter is presented in a readable form, enlivened here and there by an unexpected touch of humor.

Naturally, such a number of sketches covering a century in so few pages would leave abrupt transitions and important gaps, which only the uninitiated could fail to see at the first glance. It will doubtless appear anachronistic to Lutherans to find the labors of Schlatter given such precedence to those of Mühlenberg. The Lutherans seem not to have received due stress during the period before Mühlenberg's arrival.

The term, "churchly Separatists", even though borrowed, is objectionable as here employed in as much as its relation to "church Pietists" is not made clear. The use of "enthusiasm" for the German *Schwärmerei*, which was employed with a decided bias, seems unfortunate; *fanatic zeal* might have come nearer the mark for this eighteenth-century meaning. A number of other details might be challenged, such as "a collegia pietatis"; the use of "Teutonic", as in "Quakers of Teutonic nationality", "Teutonic settlements", etc., as equivalent to German or Dutch; the orthography of proper names, such as "Koster" instead of Köster, "Strasburg" instead of Strassburg, and misprints, such as "von Wahren Christenthum", "Blütige Schauplatz".

But these minor matters are far less important than the main fact that the great subject of the book, the inner religious life of the Germans in our colonial period, is left practically untouched. This book, like most of its predecessors, and the sources from which it is taken, follows the beaten track of antiquarian and lay-work. As we look over this wagon track of American history, we welcome the more serious studies of Professor Hoskins in the *Princeton Review*, and of other trained investigators, of whom there are now a number in the field who are taking the trouble to go back to first sources, and who are able, when they have found the sources, to treat them in a scientific manner, and thus make permanent contributions to the history of religious thought and life in America.

M. D. LEARNED.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volume VIII., 1777, May 22-October 2; Volume IX., 1777, October 3-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 375-760, 761-1132.) Among the most important matters dealt with in volume VIII. are the preparation of the address to the inhabitants of the United States, May, 1777, the fresh regulations for the commissary's department and the office of clothier-general, the report of the committee to repair to the camp, the dealings with the Pennsylvania Quakers, and with Silas Deane, and the commissioning of John Adams. In volume IX. nothing is so important as the final shaping of the Articles of Confederation, which is illustrated by presenting in parallel columns the second report of that document and its final form, and also a photographic facsimile of the first print, with manuscript amendments. The volume ends with a supplementary list of standing committees, the usual careful bibliographical

notes and the index to the year 1777. Its annotation is of the same excellent sort as that of previous volumes.

The Life of Chief Justice Ellis Lewis, 1798-1871. By Burton Alva Konkle. (Philadelphia, Campion and Company, 1907, pp. viii, 285.) In this neatly printed and copiously illustrated volume, equipped with foot-notes and accompanied by an excellent index, the author presents in fifteen chapters the leading facts in the life of one of Pennsylvania's ablest jurists, a "warm friend and nearly life-long counsellor" of Buchanan, an early friend and loyal supporter of Jackson and Taney.

After devoting four chapters (50 pages) to the family history and early career of Ellis Lewis down to the time of his admission to the bar in 1822, the author sketches the political situation in Pennsylvania in 1823—all too lightly, the rapid rise of Lewis in the profession, his work in the state legislature in 1832-1833 when he was prominently instrumental in bringing about the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and his work as attorney-general under Governor Wolf. An account of Judge Lewis's work as president judge of the eighth judicial district, and of the Lancaster district court, respectively, fills two other chapters. Perhaps the most valuable part of the *Life* is the chapter describing the movement and campaign for an elective judiciary in 1848-1850. Three other chapters present proof of the extraordinary industry of Judge Lewis as a member of the first elective supreme court of the state; evidence of his popularity with his colleagues on the bench, with the bar and general public; and extracts from decisions—rather too numerous—illustrating his lucidity and directness of statement and intellectual grasp.

Had Chief Justice Lewis been a jurist only, we are told in the preface, "the author would have felt no mission to present his career"; but before he took a seat upon the bench, Lewis was "a great power in Democratic counsels, and seldom wholly lost touch with the ablest leaders of that party during the rest of his life as his correspondence indicates". Nevertheless, this *Life* of Lewis is almost wholly devoted to his career as a jurist. Of his influence upon the tortuous course of Pennsylvania politics we get only occasional and fleeting glimpses which whet the appetite for more.

The author has had access to contemporary newspapers and to the correspondence of Judge Lewis, and reproduces a few letters, highly interesting and of historical value, from George M. Dallas, Henry M. Stanton, Jeremiah S. Black, Roger B. Taney and James Buchanan. Whether or not more of this correspondence was available for publication does not appear; but if available, its reproduction would have materially enhanced the value of the work. Space might easily and profitably have been found for it by various omissions as of statistics of decisions rendered, appeals taken, judgments affirmed or reversed, at each term of the supreme court, *seriatim* (chapters IX., XI., XII.),

and of long excerpts from Judge Lewis's opinions (chapters XI., XII.). By such omissions, space would also have been gained for a more thorough treatment of contemporary Pennsylvania politics, of which the discussion, as the work now stands, is regrettably inadequate and disappointing, especially during Jackson's second administration.

P. O. RAY.

Robert E. Lee. By Philip Alexander Bruce. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Company, 1907, pp. 380.) Like the biographers of Lee in general, Mr. Bruce portrays his hero as a man with a quite unhuman freedom not only from faults but from foibles. His military genius is well nigh unerring. Rarely indeed is there a suggestion that the general-in-chief might have done better. If complete success is not reached, it is because Stuart has gone off apparently on his own volition; or because A. P. Hill has shown want of judgment, or because Ewell is hardly adequate to the command of a corps; or, more often than any other reason, because Longstreet has come miserably short. Longstreet is the especial scape-goat upon whom Mr. Bruce unloads the misfortunes of Lee's campaigns. The Georgian at Seven Pines, on the eve of Lee's assuming command, had balked a Confederate victory; at Second Manassas his "opinionativeness" prevented complete success; at South Mountain he was "characteristically slow"; at Suffolk while in independent command his movements were ill-judged; at Gettysburg came the climax of his sluggishness, insubordination and obstinacy. Nor does he escape blame even for his conduct in the wilderness, although it is the usual Confederate view that Longstreet was involving the Federals in a new Chancellorsville when he was struck down and baffled by wounds from his own men. Even here Mr. Bruce does not praise. He should have been on the field the evening before. Our author's treatment of Longstreet is in marked contrast with his treatment of Stonewall Jackson. We believe it to be a matter of easy proof that the latter during the Seven Days in 1862, frustrated Lee's efforts by culpable inaction, especially at White Oak Swamp. Mr. Bruce, however, does not hint at condemnation here or anywhere. Jackson is throughout the perfect lieutenant. We have no space to combat in detail Mr. Bruce's conclusions, but will only inquire, as to Gettysburg, what did Lee's pathetic exclamation mean, as he met Pickett's men returning repulsed from Cemetery Ridge; "It is all my fault"—that and his subsequent depression in which he sought to resign in favor of some one younger and abler—what does this mean except that Lee felt conscious of having made a mistake himself, and was far enough from shifting the blame for his defeat upon his corps-commanders?

Great generals heretofore have not conducted campaigns without errors. Certainly Napoleon and Frederick did not; no more did Lee. To mention but one instance. As to grand strategy, General E. P.

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Alexander shows impressively that the Confederacy did not use as it might have done its interior lines to reinforce East and West, as occasion might require, by the transfer of troops across the mountains back and forth between Virginia or Tennessee. Here Lee failed to seize opportunities out of which much might have come.

We think Mr. Bruce's book an interesting story of the life of a great soldier and an heroic, if misguided, man. We regard, however, as more illuminating, the books of such veterans as Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, and E. P. Alexander, *Memoirs of a Confederate*. These high officers, admiring to the full their great chief, write with discrimination from their own knowledge, and do not hesitate to uncover the flaws in the general management. To the world, Longstreet's *From Manassas to Appomattox* seems a straightforward and manly book. The reader of Mr. Bruce's strictures may profitably seek out here what Longstreet has to say for himself.

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Volume II. Virginia Series, volume I. Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. (Springfield, Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library, 1907, pp. clvi, 663.) It is a familiar fact that the history of institutions—social, legal, political and economic—in the Mississippi Valley largely remains to be written. It is a pleasure to commend Mr. Alvord's stout volume, not alone because intrinsically it represents a task well performed, but also because it sets a lofty standard for the much needed exploitation of similar riches in the archives of states, counties and towns. Aside from a few minor documents, the materials presented (in both the original French and an English translation) are: (1) the Record of the Court of the District of Cahokia, 1779-1790; (2) a long extract from the Registers of the Magistracy of Cahokia, as preserved by the notary-clerks of the court, 1778-1788; and (3) a varied collection of letters, petitions and memorials, covering the decade 1779-1789.

The court of Cahokia owed its origin legally to the organization of the County of Illinois in 1778, though it represented in fact a mere continuation of the courts established in the previous year by George Rogers Clark. There were, after 1778, three such courts in the county—those, namely, of the districts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes. Each consisted of six justices from the principal village and a few representatives from the other communities of the district, all elected popularly for a year. At first weekly, later monthly, sessions were held, and the law administered was essentially that of the *Coutume de Paris*, modified at some points by the legal system of Virginia. The records of the Cahokia court alone are known to have survived and they will be found to fill a gap in our knowledge of the political and judicial arrangements in the Illinois country during the first generation of American control.

The well-written introduction which Mr. Alvord has prefixed to his book comprises a careful survey of the history, and especially of the institutional development, of the Illinois country in the period covered by the accompanying documents. Drawn, as we are assured it has been, from unpublished and largely unused sources (the Kaskaskia Records, the Draper Manuscripts, etc.), it represents a real contribution to a subject which has too commonly been glossed over by writers for the obvious reason of lack of information. A useful bibliography is appended, though the principle on which it has been made up does not appear.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives (Simancas, the Archivo Historico Nacional, and Seville). By Professor William R. Shepherd. (Washington, The Carnegie Institution, 1907, pp. 107.) This book, just published as we go to press, presents first an introduction on general archive-conditions in Spain, then describes in order the three principal repositories of material relating to the history of the United States. It states briefly the processes by which each collection was brought together and gives titles of the various printed and manuscript inventories. In each subdivision of each of the three sections, devoted respectively to the archives of Simancas, to the National Historical Archives at Madrid and to the archives of the Indies at Seville, a descriptive statement is given, followed by lists of the principal items relating to United States history which the compiler found. A brief general bibliography and a somewhat full index follow.

TEXT-BOOKS

History of Mediaeval and Modern Civilization to the End of the Seventeenth Century. By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris. Translation edited by JAMES ALTON JAMES, Ph.D., Professor of History, Northwestern University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xi, 438.)

WHAT are the features of this work? As the title implies it does not dwell upon events. It contains rather "selected topics of a nature to make the customs of each society clear, and explanations intended to make it understood how these customs were formed, modified and scattered". Many events are indeed briefly recalled, but only because of their special connection with the movement of civilization. The larger lines of political development are indicated, and a résumé is given of the essentials of medieval and early modern history with reference to institutions, customs, ideas, art and letters. Government of the Barbarian Kings, The Church in the Middle Ages, Royal Authority in France, Struggle between the Houses of France and Austria, The Renaissance, International Relations—thus run some of the chapter-

headings. Furthermore, the work was written—now some twenty years ago—to meet the requirements of the history programmes in certain branches of secondary education in France, “enseignement spécial” and “enseignement des filles”. So that what we have here is really a history of civilization under the yoke, though not the guise, of a text-book. Be it added that it is a text-book marked alike by high scholarship and by simple, clean-cut exposition.

What use may we reasonably expect to make of this work in our schools, now that it is accessible in English? It is not likely that we shall employ it as a text-book. Most of us think that an historical manual should set forth not the history of civilization as such, abstracted from general history, but the general story of men with emphasis upon their civilization. The French hold the same view, for the most part, and Professor Seignobos has lately written a series of manuals which exemplify it admirably. Probably the only sphere in which use of the work will be contemplated among us is that of collateral reading. Here, though, one encounters the practical purpose it was designed to serve. Being written to be a text-book, it must needs be brief and at the same time cover the whole field. Of necessity its treatments of most topics are very short, and of none very long. Of necessity, further, it adds relatively little to what is to be found in our better manuals, which make topics concerning civilization part and parcel of their account and dwell rather extensively upon the more important of them, like the Church in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Yet its matter is presented sometimes more truly than in our manuals and often much more effectively; and the translators have rendered, though not always with unswerving accuracy, on the whole with commendable success, both the sense and the style of the original.

EARLE W. DOW.

A Brief History of the United States. By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York: American Book Company. 1907. Pp. 434, xxx.)

In this history of the United States for elementary schools, Professor McMaster has presented, as he says, “the essential features of our country’s progress” and also “many things of secondary consequence which it is well for every young American to know”.

The book shows a balance in the discussion of events that is noteworthy. Accounts of wars are reduced to a minimum. Western settlement and its influence are given an amount of space not heretofore seen in texts of this grade, and the leading features of industrial development are noted.

Of the forty-four chapters, the six most worthy of commendation are entitled: Our Country in 1789, Growth of the Country, 1789-1805,

Rise of the West, Growth of the Country from 1820 to 1840, State of the Country from 1840 to 1860 and Growth of the Country from 1860 to 1880. The presentation of such material for pupils of the grammar school age makes it probable that they will gain an incentive for further reading and study instead of rating history as a subject consisting merely of facts and dates which is straightway to be forgotten.

It is to be regretted that the author has in many instances so condensed the material in his paragraphs as to leave the discussion without life and certainly over-difficult for pupils who are expected to use the text. Eight lines are deemed adequate for an account of the First Continental Congress (p. 157). Four of them read: "met in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia in September, 1774, and issued a declaration of rights and grievances, a petition to the king, and addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the people of the Colonies". The following description of the establishment of the judiciary also illustrates this tendency to over-compression (p. 222). "A Supreme Court was organized with a Chief Justice and five associates; three Circuits (one for each of the three groups of states, Eastern, Middle, and Southern) and thirteen District Courts (one for each state) were created, and provision was made for all the machinery of justice."

A special and praiseworthy feature of the book is the definiteness of the suggested readings. They are found in the foot-notes directly accompanying the subject-matter. But while in sympathy with this plan, the reviewer questions whether many of the leading references would not be more suitable to pupils of high school age. It is believed that only in the best schools where there are especially prepared teachers could grammar school pupils be expected to read with profit Rhode's *History of the United States*; King's and Pinckney's orations on the Missouri Compromise; and the speeches of Calhoun and Webster. Little supplementary biographical material is suggested other than that found in the numerous poems and novels cited.

Besides the twelve colored maps, four of which occupy double pages, there are forty-one well-executed maps of various sizes in black and white. They give all the essential information without being overcrowded with names. There is also an abundance of other well-selected material, chiefly photographs of articles found in museums and historical societies.

The single misleading statement is conspicuous (p. 42 n.); wherein the story of the saving of the life of John Smith by Pocahontas is given sanction as "according to Smith's account". No doubt is raised as to the authenticity of the tale.

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

COMMUNICATION

The Mecklenburg Declaration: What Did the Governor See?

[THE following communication has been received from Dr. George W. Graham of Charlotte, North Carolina, and is inserted at his request. The reader may profitably compare its statements with those made in the article by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., in the last number of the REVIEW (XIII. 16-43). ED.]

IN May, 1775, delegates, elected by the voters of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, met in Charlotte and adopted a set of resolutions. In June following, these resolutions were printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, a newspaper published in Wilmington, N. C. On June 30, of the same year the colonial governor of North Carolina sent a copy of the *Mercury* containing the resolutions to the Earl of Dartmouth, who filed the paper in the British archives.

In 1819 a controversy, which has lasted until the present time, arose as to the purport of the resolutions printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury* of June, 1775, some disputants claiming that they were a Declaration of Independence, while their opponents contended that the resolutions made no demand for a separation of Mecklenburg County from Great Britain.

In order to settle the controversy some of the friends of the Declaration visited the British State Paper Office in order to examine the resolutions printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury* filed there. They found the paper gone and in its place a note in pencil containing this memorandum, "Taken out by Mr. Turner for Mr. Stevenson August 15th., 1837".¹

Who was Mr. Stevenson? Evidently a follower of Thomas Jefferson, whose friends were doing their utmost to hinder the establishment of the genuineness of the Mecklenburg Declaration and thereby prevent that statesman's being deemed a plagiarist, for according to Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* Hon. Andrew Stevenson was born in Virginia in 1784, belonged to the Democratic party and was a prominent member of the state legislature and of Congress for twenty years just previous to Mr. Jefferson's death in 1826.

At the time Mr. Stevenson borrowed the *Mercury* from the British archives that gentleman was United States minister at the Court of St. James, and, it seems, was suspected of having more than a passing interest in the Declaration controversy. For in the year 1838, the year after Mr. Stevenson obtained the *Mercury* from the archives and

¹ Page 54, Draper's manuscript in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison.

while he still resided in London, the book, *Memorials of North Carolina*, appeared. And its author, J. Seawell Jones, who has evidently heard of the minister's search for the *Mercury*, gives way to his vexation thus: "It has been intimated to me by a friend that the present Envoy Extraordinary of the Government of the United States, near the throne of England, had been entrusted with a commission to explore the Archives of the Colonial Office for evidence against the Mecklenburg Declaration. Under whose superintendence and advice this exploring expedition was gotten up it does not behoove me to say, but I can certainly wish it's worthy commander whatever success he may deserve. He may depend upon his deserts being fairly and thoroughly canvassed whenever the fruits of his expedition shall be disclosed to the public."

That Mr. Stevenson borrowed the *Cape Fear Mercury* from the British archives is beyond question, for Lyman Draper in the manuscript already referred to remarks: "Upon Colonel Wheeler's return to this country he applied to Hon. J. W. Stevenson of Kentucky, son of the deceased Minister to England, concerning the missing copy of the Cape Fear Mercury, and the answer was, though the missing copy could not be found, dispatches and other memoranda among the deceased Minister's papers indicates that the copy had once been in his possession."

Notwithstanding J. Seawell Jones's reflections upon Minister Stevenson, that dignitary lived through nearly twenty years of the Mecklenburg controversy, dying in 1857 without divulging the contents of the *Cape Fear Mercury* to his opponents or the public, and thereby raised a presumption against himself.

In 1838, the year after Mr. Stevenson obtained the *Cape Fear Mercury*, Colonel Peter Force of Washington, D. C., discovered some resolutions that purported to have been adopted at Charlotte on May 31, 1775, and on account of their date are known as the Thirty-first Resolves. The fact of their discovery was announced in the *National Intelligencer* in December, 1838. Immediately upon this find, the doubters, as the opponents of the genuineness of the Mecklenburg Declaration are called, contended that the resolutions brought to light by Colonel Force were identical with those printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury*. Yet Mr. Stevenson, who had read the resolutions in the *Mercury*, and, for that reason, could have settled the controversy for all time, remained dumb throughout the entire discussion, which continued through the remaining years of his life.

While it is to be regretted that Mr. Stevenson, for reasons best known to himself, did not let the public know whether the resolutions that he saw in the *Mercury* were a Declaration of Independence or the Thirty-first Resolves, we are not without information as to the intent of the resolutions printed there.

Fortunately for us the Governor of North Carolina in 1775, who read the proceedings at Charlotte printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury* and then transmitted the newspaper to the Earl of Dartmouth, has

left on record several such minute descriptions of the contents of that paper that there is no mistaking his meaning.

We find the first reference of the Governor to the publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* on pages 38 and 39 of volume X. of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*. There, in an address to the Executive Council on June 25, 1775, two days after the resolutions appeared in the *Mercury*, the Governor, after enumerating several unlawful occurrences in the province, continues: "And the late, most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg explicitly renouncing obedience to His Majesty's Government and all lawfull authority whatsoever are such audacious and dangerous proceedings, and so directly tending to the dissolution of the constitution of this Province, That I have thought it indispensably my Duty to advise with you on the measures proper to be taken for the maintenance of His Majesty's Government, and the Constitution of this country, thus flagrantly insulted and violated."

Of course, these remarks of the Governor can in no way be applied to the Thirty-first Resolves. For, as the opponents of the Declaration contend, the Thirty-first Resolves do not renounce obedience either explicitly or otherwise to "all lawfull authority whatsoever". And, as the doubters also contend, neither do the Thirty-first Resolves tend "to the dissolution of the constitution of this Province". On the contrary the Thirty-first Resolves, in Rule 18, positively declare that they are only intended to "be in full Force and Virtue until . . . the legislative Body of *Great Britain* resign its unjust and arbitrary Pretensions with Respect to *America*". So those resolutions are evidently not the ones that the royal executive saw in the *Mercury*. Now let us see how that official's language applies to what is known as the Mecklenburg Declaration. That Declaration explicitly renounces obedience to His Majesty's government and tends "to the dissolution of this Province", in Resolve 2 as follows: "We the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown."

Again on page 48, volume X., of the same records we find a copy of the letter that accompanied the *Cape Fear Mercury* to the Earl of Dartmouth. It is dated June 30, 1775, and in part says: "The Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburgh, which your Lordship will find in the enclosed Newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced."

Here again the Governor makes no allusion to the Thirty-first Resolves, for, as the doubters claim, those resolutions are not treasonable. But as their preamble sets forth, they were intended "To provide in some Degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming Period". The Declaration, however, fulfills the language of the letter as to treason in Resolve 3, where among other things it declares: "That

we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent People." In the same letter the Governor tells Dartmouth: "A copy of these Resolves I am informed were sent off by express to the Congress at Philadelphia as soon as they were passed in the Committee." This information the Governor, of course, obtained from the *Cape Fear Mercury* which he had before him when writing. For Resolve 6 of the Declaration reads: "That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by Express to the President of the Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, to be laid before that body." The Thirty-first Resolves do not mention Philadelphia.

The next reference to what the Governor saw in the *Cape Fear Mercury* is found in his proclamation of August 8, 1775, pages 144 and 145 of the same *North Carolina Records*, where he recites: "Whereas I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* importing to be resolves of a set of people stiling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenburg most traiterously declaring the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the Laws and subversive of His Majesty's Government," etc.

Now we have the assertion of the doubters that the Thirty-first Resolves are neither "subversive of His Majesty's Government", nor do they declare "the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country". So according to the testimony of our opponents the king's governor did not refer to the Thirty-first Resolves in his proclamation. Then his proclamation must have reference to the Declaration of Independence which meets the language of that manifesto when it declares in Resolve 4 that "the Crown of Great-Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein."

The Thirty-first Resolves were intended as a substitute for laws wholly suspended by an act of the British Parliament.

Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury* declare the laws of Great Britain abrogated by the citizens of Mecklenburg County.

The Thirty-first Resolves are limited as to time and power. Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury* are treasonable and permanent in their action.

The Thirty-first Resolves, declare the doubters, are meant to be purely provisional, temporary and contingent in their force and virtue.

Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, according to the royal governor who saw them in that paper, declare "the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country".

The Thirty-first Resolves, say our opponents, do not contemplate anything like a formal or definite separation from Great Britain.

Those in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, the Governor tells the Executive Council, explicitly renounce obedience to His Majesty's government.

Now, it is easy to infer which set of resolutions the Governor saw in the *Cape Fear Mercury*.

GEORGE W. GRAHAM.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

David Masson, historiographer royal for Scotland and emeritus professor of English literature in the University of Edinburgh, died on October 6 at the age of 84. His career as journalist, author of various works on literary topics and professor of English literature at University College, London, and later at Edinburgh, does not concern us here. He made important contributions to history in his exhaustive *Life of Milton, in connection with the History of his Time* (six volumes) and in the fourteen volumes of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, edited by him.

William Thomas Davis of Plymouth, Massachusetts, for several years president of the Pilgrim Society, died on December 3, aged eighty-five. Among his historical writings are *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, a *History of Plymouth* and a *History of the Bench and Bar of Massachusetts*. He also edited the *Plymouth Town Records*, and shortly before his death, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, which is about to appear as volume six of "Original Narratives of Early American History".

Moncure Daniel Conway, author and lecturer on a wide range of subjects, died in Paris on November 15, aged seventy-five. To the historical world he is known chiefly from his lives of Edmund Randolph and Thomas Paine.

Dr. Oliver P. Chitwood has been elected professor of history in West Virginia University, to take the place held by Professor W. L. Fleming, who, as mentioned incidentally in our last number, has taken the chair of history in the Louisiana State University.

Professor Louis Madelin, the historian, arrived in the United States in November, to deliver at a number of American universities a series of lectures under the auspices of the Alliance Française. His subjects pertain chiefly to the Napoleonic era.

In connection with the celebration at the Laurentian Library, Florence, on November 3, of the eightieth anniversary of the historian, teacher and publicist, Pasquale Villari, there was prepared an illustrated memoir by Francesco Baldasseroni, *Pasquale Villari, Profilo Biografico e Bibliografia degli Scritti*. The bibliography comprises more than 400 items.

A volume of nineteen *Anthropological Essays* (London, Frowde, 1907) by distinguished authors was presented to Professor E. B. Tylor

in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday on October 2. Among the articles are "The Place of the 'Sonder-Götter' in Greek Polytheism", by L. R. Farnell; "Folk-lore in the Old Testament", by J. G. Frazer; "Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta", by E. S. Hartland; "Australian Problems", by Andrew Lang; "Is Taboo a Negative Magic?" by R. R. Marett; "The Ethnological Study of Music", by C. S. Myers; "The Sigynnae of Herodotus: An Ethnological Problem of the Early Iron Age", by J. L. Myres; "A Museum of Anthropology", by C. H. Read; "Who were the Dorians?" by William Ridgeway; "On the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationships", by W. H. R. Rivers. Miss B. W. Freire-Marreco has contributed a bibliography.

An Index of Archaeological Papers, 1665-1890, compiled by G. L. Gomme, and published under the direction of the Congress of Archaeological Societies and the Society of Antiquaries, has been issued by Messrs. Archibald Constable. The work, which forms a guide to the archaeological and historical publications of some ninety learned societies, ends where the annual *Index of Archaeological Papers*, published under the same auspices, begins.

The Italian Society of Archaeology and of the History of Art, which was organized at Rome two years ago, has published the first volume of its periodical *Ausonia* (Rome, Loescher, 1907, pp. xiii, 203) containing twelve articles, accounts of recent discoveries, summaries of periodicals, reviews and notes.

The second volume of *Proceedings* (Frowde) of the British Academy covers the two years 1905 and 1906. Among the contributions are papers by Sir John Rhys on "The Celtae and Galli" and "The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy". Professor Ridgeway has an essay on the "Cuchulainn Saga" and Professor Haverfield on the "Romanization of Roman Britain". A paper on the Moghul Empire read by Sir Alfred Lyall is represented only by a summary.

The third volume of *Sociological Papers* (Macmillan, 1907, pp. xi, 382) consists of the papers read at the meetings of the Sociological Society, held in London during the session of 1905-1906, together with reports of the discussions and some written communications. While most of the papers deal either with the relations of sociology to biology or with sociological aims and methods, two have an historical interest. One of these, "The Russian Revolution", by Mr. G. de Wesselitsky, is mainly an historical sketch of the development of autocracy in Russia; the other, an interesting paper on "The Origin and Function of Religion", by Mr. A. E. Crawley, gives some of the results of a survey of religious phenomena, which starts from a study of certain savage peoples. The conclusion is reached that religion, which may be defined as a psychic temper, has for its origin the vital instinct, and for its sociological functions "the affirmation and consecration of life"; the

intensification of personality, the keeping of man in harmony with the earth and the raising of human nature to a higher power.

Under the title *L'Europe Préhistorique: Principes d'Archéologie Préhistorique* (Paris, Lamaire, 1907) an important work of the late Sophus Muller has been translated from the Danish by E. Philipot with the collaboration of the author.

Professor Martin Philipsson has published the first volume of an important work on the *Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, Fock, pp. 392), covering the first half of the nineteenth century. This forms part of a series, *Grundriss der Gesamtwissenschaft des Judentums*, which is to consist of thirty-six works dealing with the language, history, literature and religion of the Jewish people from their origins to the present day.

A bulletin of recent works relating to the history of Christianity is contributed by Ch. Guignebert to the *Revue Historique* for November-December.

The first volume of an historical study by M. Alfred Franklin on *La Civilité, l'Étiquette, la Mode, le Bon Ton, du XIII^e au XIX^e Siècle* is announced for immediate publication by M. Émile Paul. The work will be complete in two volumes.

During the past year the first three volumes were issued of the great general catalogue of illuminated manuscripts in Austria, which is being edited by the Austrian Historical Institute under the direction of Professor F. Wickhoff. These volumes are devoted to the Tyrol, Salzburg and Carinthia respectively.

The Cambridge University Press has in hand a work by C. D. Cobham, commissioner of Larnaca, entitled *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for the History of Cyprus*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: James Bryce, *The Personal Factor in History* (Pall Mall Magazine, December); Sir W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul's Philosophy of History* (Contemporary, September); A. Cauchie, *The Teaching of History at the University of Louvain* (The Catholic University Bulletin, October).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Dr. Emil Reich is publishing through Macmillan an *Atlas Antiquus*, a series of forty-eight maps in colors prepared on a new plan, with the historical events and institutions of ancient history represented according to the system employed in the author's *Students' Atlas of English History*.

The first two fascicles of the *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* (Paderborn, Schöningh), the series recently inaugurated by the Görres Gesellschaft, under the direction of Professors E. Drerup,

H. Grimme and J. P. Kirsch, contain monographs on the feast of Pentecost among the Jews by Professor Grimme (pp. 132), and on the senate under Augustus by Dr. Abele (pp. 78). From four to six fascicles are to appear annually.

Professor G. Maspéro's volume, *Causeries d'Égypte* (Paris, Guilmoto, 1907) reproduces with a few changes some of the articles contributed by him to the *Journal des Débats* from 1893 to 1907.

Professor Hugo Winckler's *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, translated and edited by J. A. Craig and revised by the author, has been published by Scribners (1907, pp. 352).

In *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* (London, Unwin, 1907) Dr. Angelo Mosso treats of the buildings, sculpture, fresco and vase paintings of the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. There are 187 illustrations.

Professor Ettore Pais announces the publication of a new series of *Studi Storici*, entitled *Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica*. This will take the form of a quarterly of about 140 pages, which is intended to include articles, the fruit of original research, not only by Italians but also by foreigners whose contributions will be published in their native language. Some pages of each fascicle will be devoted to notices of books. A translation of a volume by Dr. Pais, *Studies in the Early History of Ancient Italy*, has been announced for publication by the Chicago University Press.

Under the title *A Students' History of Greece* (Macmillan, 1907, pp. 377) Professor Everett Kimball of Smith College has edited and prepared for the use of American secondary schools, Professor J. B. Bury's *History of Greece for Beginners*.

Dr. J. G. Frazer has so much enlarged his treatises on magic and religion previously brought together in his volume entitled *The Golden Bough* that they will be issued as a series of five separate monographs of which the fourth, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, has recently been published through Macmillan.

The fifth part of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Frowde) includes, among other important discoveries made by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, portions of a new Greek historical work by a writer of the fourth century before Christ, supposed to be Theopompus.

The eighth *Heft* in the series of Leipzig Historical Essays edited by E. Brandenburg, G. Seeliger and U. Wilcken is Dr. W. Hoffman's *Das Literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen im Griechischen und Römischen Altertum* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1907, pp. viii, 115).

The first volume of the first part of J. Toutain's *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain* deals with the official cults and the Roman and Graeco-Roman cults in the Latin provinces (Paris, 1907).

Konrat Ziegler has published a very detailed study of *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, pp. viii, 208).

The Life of Alexander Severus (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. xxii, 280), the Prince Consort Prize Essay for 1906, by R. V. Nind Hopkins, late senior scholar of Emmanuel College, has been published in the series of Cambridge Historical Essays.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *La Propriété Collective en Chaldée et la prétendue Féodalité Militaire du Code de Hammourabi*, II. (*Revue Historique*, November–December); E. H. Parker, *Tartars and Chinese before the Time of Confucius* (*English Historical Review*, October); M. Besnier, *L'Oeuvre de M. Guglielmo Ferrero: les Derniers Temps de la République Romaine* (*Revue Historique*, September–October); L. Bréhier, *La Conception du Pouvoir Impérial en Orient pendant les Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Ère Chrétienne* (*Revue Historique*, September–October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor E. J. Goodspeed has compiled an index to all the words found in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers included in the edition of Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn with references to the passages where they are found—*Index Patristicus, sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum ex Editione Minore Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn, Lectionibus Editionum Minorum Funk et Lightfoot Admissis* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907, pp. viii, 262).

The fifth number in the excellent series of *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme* (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. cxvi, 122) published under the direction of H. Hemmer and P. Lejay, and including both the original texts and French translations, is *Les Pères Apostoliques, I. Doctrine des Apôtres; Épître de Barnabé*, edited by H. Hemmer, G. Oger and A. Laurent.

The *Gospel of Barnabas*, edited and translated from the Italian manuscript in the Imperial Library of Vienna by Lonsdale and L. Ragg, has been published by the Clarendon Press (1907, pp. lxxix, 500).

Paul Allard's *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs* has been translated by L. Cappadelta and published in the International Catholic Library (Benziger, 1907).

Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux: Essais de Mythologie Chrétienne (Paris, Nourry, 1907, pp. 416) the first volume of a great work by P. Saintyves, treats with much learning and excellent scientific method of the origins of the cult of the saints, of the hagiographic legends and of the mythology of proper names.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The more important historical works relating to the Middle Ages published in Germany in 1905-1906, are noticed in the "Courrier Allemand" of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for July and October.

Études Tironiennes (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 88), by Paul Legendre, forms fascicle 165 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. The main body of the book consists of the fragment of a commentary on the sixth eclogue of Virgil drawn from a manuscript of the ninth century preserved in the library of Chartres and partly written in the shorthand characters known as Tironian. In the editor's opinion this remarkably full and careful commentary would do honor to the Carolingian renaissance. An appendix (pp. 43-88) contains remarks on the Tironian notes found in various manuscripts, a list of Tironian manuscripts, a bibliography of the subject and a facsimile of the Chartres manuscript.

Bernard Monod has issued through the house of Champion an *Essai sur les Rapports de Pascal II. avec Philippe I^{er} (1099-1108)* (1907, pp. xxvii, 164).

Mr. W. B. Stevenson's *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. 400) treats of the wars of Islam with the Latins in Syria during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Eastern point of view is emphasized and the main thread of the narrative is drawn so far as possible from the history of the Moslem states.

Pope Adrian IV. (London, Blackwell, pp. 128) is the subject of the Lothian Essay of 1907, by J. D. Mackie.

The first number of *Archivium Franciscano-Historicum*, a new quarterly periodical devoted to Franciscan history, will be published in January, 1908, under the direction of the fathers of the college of S. Bonaventura at Quaracchi near Florence. The periodical will contain articles, documents, descriptions of manuscripts, reviews of books and periodicals, and a chronicle. The articles will be printed either in Latin or in a modern language.

Les Origines du Speculum Perfectionis d'après M. A. Fierens (Louvain, Van Linthout, 1907, pp. 39) is a minute examination of the conclusions of Fierens made in the historical seminary of the Catholic University of Louvain during the year 1905-1906.

Dr. D. S. Muzzey's essay on *The Spiritual Franciscans*, which won the Herbert Baxter Adams prize offered by the American Historical Association, was separately published by the Association this autumn in an edition supposed to be of adequate size. The edition has, however, been exhausted and there are so many demands for the book that the Executive Council of the Association is considering the possibility of reprinting.

Dr. H. Finke's work on the *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens* (Münster, Aschendorff, pp. xvi, 398), of which the second volume is devoted to *Quellen*, forms the fourth and fifth volumes of the series of researches into pre-Reformation history of which he is the general editor.

Professor K. Böckenhoff of the University of Strassburg has continued his studies on the dietary regulations taken over from the Mosaic code into Christian laws, in a treatise, *Speisesatzungen Mosaischer Art in Mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechtsquellen des Morgen- und Abendlandes* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1907, pp. vi, 128), said to be the most complete work on the subject.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Seeliger, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Grundherrschaft im früheren Mittelalter*, II. *Zur Organisation der Fränkischen Grundherrschaft* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September); M. Tangl, *Die Tironischen Noten in den Urkunden der Karolinger* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, I. 1); K. Brandi, *Der Byzantinische Kaiserbrief aus St. Denis und die Schrift der frühmittelalterlichen Kanzleien* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, I. 1); A. Schürr, *Un Moine Français en Pologne au XII^e Siècle: Le Chroniqueur Gallus Anonymus* (Revue Historique, September-October); O. Cartellieri, *Über eine Burgundische Gesandtschaft an den Kaiserlichen und Päpstlichen Hof im Jahre 1460* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 3).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of Classical Scholarship from the End of the Middle Ages to the Present Day, in two volumes, by J. E. Sandys, is announced for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

A new and revised edition of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, containing chapters on Pius IX. and the Vatican Council, which are here translated for the first time, has been published in Messrs. Bell's "York Library".

Dr. Paul Herre of Leipzig, in his very detailed monograph, *Papsttum und Papstwahl im Zeitalter Philipps II.* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, pp. xx, 652) treats of the conclaves of the several popes from Pius IV. to Clement VIII. inclusive, of the history of the college of cardinals, and of the relations of the popes to other powers, especially to the king of Spain, during this period.

The fifth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, entitled *The Age of Louis XIV.*, will be published early in this year by the Cambridge University Press.

Dr. G. M. Theal is publishing through Sonnenschein a three-volume work on *The History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi*,

from the Settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September, 1505, to the Conquest of the Cape Colony by Great Britain in September, 1795. The first volume treats of the Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1700 (1907, pp. 526). The second volume will deal with the formation of the Cape Colony by the Dutch, and the third will be an account of the Dutch, Portuguese, Hottentots and Bantu.

P. Emmanuelis d'Almeida S. I. *Historia Aethiopiae, Liber I-IV*. (Rome, De Luigi, 1907, pp. lxiv, 525) forms the fifth volume of the important series *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XVI. ad XIX.*, edited by C. Beccari, S. J.

Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy (London, Frowde, 1907, pp. 332), by Mr. A. J. Sargent of the London School of Economics, deals mainly with the nineteenth century and will serve as an historical introduction to a study of present commercial conditions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. S. Allen, *Some Letters of Masters and Scholars, 1500-1530* (English Historical Review, October); R. Ancel, *Paul IV. et le Concile* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Pacification of 1719-20, II. The Swedish Treaties* (English Historical Review, October); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Nelson, Wellington und Gneisenau, die Militärischen Hauptgegner Napoleons I.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 3); P. Quentin-Bauchart, *La Prusse, les Polonais et la France en 1848* (Annales des Sciences Politiques, September); Simeon E. Baldwin, *The International Congresses and Conferences of the Last Century as Forces working toward the Solidarity of the World* (American Journal of International Law, July).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

M. Ch. Bémont concludes his review of recent historical publications relating to England in the Bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for September-October, in which he treats of works relating to institutions and local history.

Outline for Review: English History, is one of a series of outlines for review prepared by Charles Bartram Newton and Edwin Bryant Treat. The authors endeavor, by means of this outline, to solve the problem, which presents itself to the teacher at the close of the year's work, of "bringing out the subject as a whole, and of so focussing it as to make the picture clear-cut and vivid in the pupil's mind" (American Book Company, pp. 76).

Dr. T. Rice Holmes, author of *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, is publishing through the Oxford University Press a work on *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, in which he gives many details regarding man's life in Britain from the earliest times. The second part contains articles on Stonehenge, Ictis, the ethnology of Britain, the place of Caesar's landing in Britain, etc.

The Cambridge University Press has begun the publication of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, a co-operative work in fourteen volumes on the plan of *The Cambridge Modern History*, by the issue of the first volume, *From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance*. The second volume, *The End of the Middle Ages*, will be issued early in 1908. The editors of the *History* are Dr. A. W. Ward and Mr. A. R. Waller.

A reprint of Professor F. W. Maitland's *Domesday-Book and Beyond*, which has been out of print for some time, has been issued by the Cambridge University Press.

The Clarendon Press makes welcome announcement of a new work by Professor Paul Vinogradoff, entitled *English Society in the Eleventh Century: Essays in English Medieval History*.

The Manorial Society, whose organization was noted in the July number of this REVIEW (XII. 944), has issued as the first of its monographs, the first part of a series of *Lists of Manor Court Rolls in Private Hands*, edited by A. L. Hardy, and giving the number of court rolls and, in some cases, account rolls and rentals extant for each manor, and the period during which the rolls extend.

During the past year the Canterbury and York Society, which was established in 1904 for printing bishops' registers and other ecclesiastical records, has issued four parts of its publications: two more parts of the register of Hugh de Welles of Lincoln; one of that of Bishop Halton of Carlisle, which begins in 1292; and the final part of Bishop Cantilupe's (Hereford) register. In addition to these the society has in hand the registers of Canterbury and Rochester; and the first part of Archbishop Parker's register is expected to be ready in the coming autumn. The registers are of course of great value to the local as well as to the ecclesiastical historian.

The British Society of Franciscan Studies will adopt as its principal object, if sufficient support can be obtained, the printing (for circulation among members only) of original documents and papers illustrative of the religious life of the Middle Ages, and especially of the work of the friars. The first volume to be issued under the new conditions is a *Liber Exemplorum* preserved at Durham, compiled in the thirteenth century by an English Franciscan who knew Roger Bacon at Paris and passed much of his life in Ireland.

An interesting article by J. F. Willard on *The English Church and the Lay Taxes of the Fourteenth Century* has been reprinted from *University of Colorado Studies*, vol. IV., no. 4, June, 1907. From an examination of manuscript and printed sources the author concludes that "there was regularly laid upon the clergy of England, for their personal goods upon lands acquired since the twentieth year of King Edward I., the burden of sharing with the laity the national taxes granted in Parliament".

In a paper entitled *An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler, 1381-1394* (London, Frowde, pp. 32), read before the British Academy last spring, Dr. J. Armitage Robinson appears to have proved that the latter part of the Latin continuation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, covering the period 1381-1394, was written not as has been supposed by John Malverne, a monk of Worcester, but by a monk of Westminster.

Karl Schmidt's monograph, *Margareta von Anjou vor und bei Shakespeare* [Untersuchungen und Texte aus der Deutschen und Englischen Philologie, edited by A. Brandl, G. Roethe and E. Schmidt, Palaestra LIV.] (Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1906, pp. xi, 286), is of interest to the historian as well as to the student of literature. The author examines the historical credibility and significance of the references to the queen that appear in the contemporary English chronicles; in the French chronicles; and in the Tudor chronicles, where, instead of the incomplete outline of the earlier annalists, an entire portrait of Margaret is drawn. A final chapter consists of a detailed study of the sources and motifs of Shakespeare's portrayal of the queen.

The Privy Council under the Tudors (Blackwell, 1907, pp. 78) by Eustace, Lord Percy, is the Stanhope Essay for 1907.

Dom H. N. Birt has published a work on *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (London, Bell, 1907, pp. 595) which is a study of contemporary documents.

A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (Cambridge University Press, 1907, pp. xlvii, 586), by T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, includes an essay by Professor C. H. Firth on "Burnet as an Historian".

James Francis Edward: the Old Chevalier (London, Dent, 1907), by Martin Haile, forms a sequel to the author's earlier work on *Mary of Modena*. Mr. Haile has had access to the large collection of Stuart manuscripts at Windsor Castle, and his volume is said to throw much fresh light upon the principal personages and events of the period.

Under the title *Coke of Norfolk and his Friends* (London, Lane, 1907, two volumes) Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling has written a comprehensive account of the great agriculturist and politician (1754-1842).

In the twelfth volume of *The Political History of England* (Longmans) Mr. Sidney Low treats of *The Reign of Queen Victoria*.

An interesting paper by Herbert Wood on the Templars in Ireland, with extracts from unpublished records, appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, July, 1907, and is published separately by Williams and Norgate.

Mrs. Nalini Banerji, the wife of the Dewan of Cochin, is writing a history of the Jews in India.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV.*, 1405-1408; *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. V., 1574-1581; *Lists*

and Indexes, no. XXIII., *Inquisitions preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. I., Henry VIII. to Philip and Mary; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. XX., part II.; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster; on American manuscripts, vol. III., 1782-1783; on manuscripts in various collections, vol. IV., and on manuscripts of the Duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey, vol. VIII.

Other documentary publications: L. Delisle, *Notes sur les Chartes Originales de Henri II. Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie au British Museum et au Record Office* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May-August); W. Meyer, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magister Hugo von Orleans) II.* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1907, 2); *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1317-1327*, I. Edited for the Cantilupe Society by the Rev. A. T. Bannister (Hereford, Wilson and Phillips, 1907); W. Foster, *Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1635-1639* (Oxford, Clarendon Press); Sir J. K. Laughton, *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham, Admiral of the Red Squadron, 1758-1813*, I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XXXII.] (1907, pp. lxvi, 422); R. W. Jeffery, *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845: a Selection from the Journal of William Dyott, sometime General in the British Army and Aide-de-Camp to his Majesty King George III.* (London, Constable, 1907, two volumes).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Gougaud, *Les Noms Anciens des Îles Britanniques* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); J. H. Round, *The Chronology of Henry II.'s Charters* (Archaeological Journal, LXIV.); J. Edwards, *The Templars in Scotland in the Thirteenth Century* (Scottish Historical Review, October); C. G. Bayne, *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth* (English Historical Review, October); A. Lang, *The Casket Letters* (Scottish Historical Review, October); W. S. McKechnie, *The Constitutional Necessity for the Union of 1707* (Scottish Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

Professor Camille Jullian of the Collège de France has published two volumes of a *Histoire de la Gaule*, dealing with the Gallic invasion, Greek colonization and independent Gaul. Four volumes are to follow: the Roman conquest and first Germanic invasions; government by Rome; Gallo-Roman civilization, and the Lower Empire.

The recently published fourth fascicle of M. A. Longnon's *Atlas Historique de la France depuis César jusqu'à Nos Jours*, the publication of which has been suspended since 1889, contains a map of France at the death of Charles V. in 1380, three pages of explanatory text and indexes to the fascicles already published. The four fascicles together

form a complete volume, bearing the sub-title *Texte Explicatif des Planches*, 1^{re} partie: De 58 avant J.-C. à 1380 après J.-C. (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. viii, 290).

M. Félix Senn's excellent monograph on *L'Institution des Vidamies en France* (Paris, Rousseau, 1907, pp. xvi, 256) traces the development of the *Vicedominus* from the Merovingian period, concluding with the complete decadence of the *Vidamie* at the end of the fifteenth century. Appendixes, pp. 181-253, comprise a table of the principal documents relative to the institution, and *pièces justificatives*.

Johannes von Walter has issued a new volume on *Die Ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs: Studien zur Geschichte des Mönchtums* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1906, pp. x, 179) in which he treats of several ambulatory preachers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sketching the life and critically examining the sources relating to each. He also considers certain questions relating to Norbert of Xanten and Henry of Lausanne, and in a final chapter deals with the origins and results of the apostolate of ambulatory preachers.

Felix Portal, adjunct secretary of the departmental committee on the economic history of the Revolution, has published a study of *La République Marseillaise du XIII^e Siècle, 1200-1263* (Marseilles, Ruat, 1907, pp. viii, 467).

Professor Karl Wenck has published a study of *Philipp der Schöne von Frankreich, seine Persönlichkeit und das Urteil der Zeitgenossen* (Marburg, Elvert, 1907). An appendix contains *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erwerbung Lyons für Frankreich*.

M. Vigie has made a valuable contribution to the history of medieval municipal institutions in his work on *Les Bastides du Périgord* (Montpellier, Mémoires de l'Académie, pp. 196), which is based on manuscript and printed sources.

An historical study on *Les Premières Mitrailleuses, 1342-1725* (1907, pp. 63), by Captain Paul Azan, attaché of the historical section of the general staff, has been issued through the house of R. Chapelot.

Émile Picot, member of the Institute, has completed his work on *Les Français Italianisants au XVI^e Siècle* by the publication of a second volume (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 396).

The Society for the History of France has recently published, or has in press, the following volumes: volume two of the *Mémoires de Souvigny*, covering the period from 1639 to the Peace of the Pyrenees; the third and last volume of the *Mémoriaux du Conseil de 1661*; the index of the nine volumes of the *Histoire Universelle d'Agrippa d'Aubigné*, the *Mémoires de Guillaume et Martin du Bellay*, from the edition of 1569 but completed from manuscript sources; the *Mémoires du Maréchal d'Estrées (1573-1670)*, completed from manuscript sources; and *Les Journaux Militaires du Duc de Croÿ, I., 1741-1743*.

Professor G. Desdevises du Dezert of the University of Clermont-Ferrand has published the first volume of a history of *L'Église et l'État en France depuis l'Édit de Nantes jusqu' au Concordat* (Paris, Société Française d'Impr. et de Libr., 1907, pp. 369).

Dr. Ch. Normand, professor at the Lycée Condorcet, has recently issued through the house of Alcan a social study on *La Bourgeoisie Française au XVII^e Siècle*, treating of the public life, the ideas and political actions of this class.

Professor H. Hauser has published a study of *Les Compagnonnages d'Arts et Métiers à Dijon aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Paris, Picard, pp. 220).

New publications relating to the French Revolution and Empire are reviewed by R. Reuss in the "historical bulletin" of the *Revue Historique* for September-October.

Frédéric Masson of the French Academy has published a work on *Napoléon dans sa Jeunesse (1769-1793)* (Paris, Ollendorf, 1907, pp. xi, 322).

The Library of Congress has received forty manuscripts relating to the antecedents of the Marquis de Lafayette. The manuscripts date from the time of the Crusades to the period of the French Revolution and were collected from the cabinet of the genealogist, Hozier. They were presented to the United States government by M. Émile Édouard Cellérier, president of the International College of Heraldry.

M. Armand Brette, whose laborious researches have thrown much light on the historical geography of France at the end of the Ancient Régime, presents many of his results in convenient form in a small book of great value, *Les Limites et les Divisions Territoriales de la France en 1789* (Paris, Cornely, 1907, pp. vii, 134).

Professor M. F. Bræsch has prepared a report for the minister of public instruction on the documents relative to the French Revolution at Paris, preserved in the British Museum (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1907, pp. 64).

Numbers 2-3 of the *Bulletin Trimestriel* (Paris, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Imp. Nationale), of the Commission on Documents relative to the Economic Life of the Revolution, are chiefly devoted to the subject of the grain trade and include a collection, compiled by M. P. Caron, of the principal legislative and administrative texts relating to this trade from 1788 to the year V. (pp. 129-294). The principal feature of the fourth number of the *Bulletin* is an article by M. C. Riffaterre on *Les Revendications Économiques et Sociales des Assemblées Primaires de Juillet 1793*, with an analytical table of the same.

Professor P. Gaffarel of the University of Aix-Marseille, and author of *Les Colonies Françaises*, has recently published a work on *La Politique Coloniale en France (1789-1830)* (Paris, Alcan, 1907).

Gilbert Stenger's work on *La Société Française pendant le Consulat* (Paris, Perrin, 1907) is concluded by the publication of the sixth series, which deals with the army, the clergy, the magistracy and public instruction.

M. Étienne Dejean, director of the French archives, has written an account of *Un Préfet du Consulat: Jacques-Claude Beugnot* (Paris, Plon, 1907) which contains many interesting economic details. The memoirs of M. Beugnot give least information for the years 1800–1806. From documentary material bequeathed to the French archives by M. Beugnot's grandson, M. Dejean has been able to fill this gap.

Mr. H. F. B. Wheeler and Mr. A. M. Broadley, the well-known collector of documents, medals, etc., relating to Napoleon, have compiled two volumes, abundantly illustrated with contemporary prints, caricatures, broadsides, etc., on *Napoleon and the Invasion of England: the Story of the Great Terror* (John Lane, 1907).

La Police Secrète du Premier Empire (Paris, Perrin, 1907), is a series of daily bulletins communicated to the emperor by Fouché in the years 1804–1805, edited by M. Ernest d'Hauterive from the original documents in the national archives.

M. Paul Déroulède will shortly publish through M. Juven a volume entitled '70-'71; *Nouvelles Feuilles de Route; de la Forteresse de Breslau aux Allées de Tourny*, a sequel to his previous book, 1870, *Feuilles de Route; des Boil de Verrières à la Forteresse de Breslau*.

Documentary publications: J. Laurent, *Cartulaires de l'Abbaye de Molesme, Ancien Diocèse de Langres (916–1250)*, vol. I., *Introduction*. [Collection of documents relating to the north of Burgundy and the south of Champagne, with a diplomatic, historical and geographical introduction.] (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. xxxii, 354, with maps and plans); E. Deville, *Inventaire Sommaire d'un Fragment de Cartulaire de l'Abbaye du Bec, conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 14); A. Besançon, *Cartulaire Municipal de la Ville de Villefranche* (Paris, Champion, pp. xii, 224); E. Champeaux, *La Compilation de Bounier et les Coutumiers Bourguignons du XIV. Siècle, le Coutumier Bourguignon de Montpellier* (Manuscript H. 386) (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. 111); F. Masson and G. Biagi, *Manuscripts Inédits de Napoléon, 1786–1791*, published from the original autographs (Paris, Ollendorf, 1907, pp. xv, 586); Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *État Sommaire des Papiers de la Période Révolutionnaire conservés dans les Archives Départementales, Série L, tome I., Ain à Loire-Inférieure* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1907, 1082 columns) [Series L deals with the administration from 1789 to the year VIII.]; C. Nicoullaud, *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond*, III. 1820–1830 (Paris, Plon, 1907).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. H. Haskins, *Knight-Service in Normandy in the Eleventh Century* (English Historical Review, October); C. Molinier, *L'Église et la Société Cathares*, II. and concl. (Revue Historique, September–October, November–December); Ch.-V. Langlois, *Les Doléances des Communautés du Toulousain contre Pierre de Latilli et Raoul de Breuilli, 1297–1298* (Revue Historique, September–October); J. Bédier, *La Légende de Raoul de Cambrai*, I. (Revue Historique, November–December); L. Batiffol, *Le Coup d'État du 24 Avril 1617*, I. (Revue Historique, November–December); M. Sepet, *Les Antécédents du Règne de Louis XVI*. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); H. Carré, *Les Parlements et la Convocation des États généraux*, concl. (La Révolution Française, September); P. Sagnac, *L'Église de France et le Serment à la Constitution Civile du Clergé* (La Révolution Française, October); Dr. Magnac, *Le Fédéralisme en 1793 et 1794*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Lieut.-Col. Picard, *La Préparation d'une Campagne de Napoléon: la Transformation de l'Armée Républicaine en Armée Impériale*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); A. Crémieux, *Le Procès des Ministres en 1848 et l'Enquête Judiciaire sur les Journées de Février* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October); G. M. Dutcher, *France in North Africa*, I. (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); H. P. Scratchley, *Gallicanism and the Gallican Liberties* (The Church Eclectic, November, 1907).

ITALY, SPAIN

The Italian government is planning to form an archaeological institute in Athens after the model of the German archaeological schools in Athens and Rome.

That portion of the library of the late Francesco Crispi which relates to Sicily has been acquired by the municipality of Palermo; the section relating to the Italian Risorgimento has been purchased by the Italian government and will be stored in the Victor Emmanuel monument, which is now in process of erection and which will contain an extensive library of that period.

Recent Italian historical publications are noted in the "Courrier Italien" of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for July and October.

M. René Poupardin reviews recent historical publications relating to medieval Italy in the "historical bulletin" of the *Revue Historique* of September–October.

Vincenzo and Maria Fontana have published the work of their father, the late Leone Fontana, *Bibliografia degli Statuti dei Comuni dell'Italia Superiore* (Turin, Bocca, 1907), three large volumes comprising a great number of notices concerning the statutory literature of all the communes of upper Italy, including some that are outside the present kingdom.

M. F. Chalandon, former member of the French school at Rome, has published a work in two volumes on the *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, Picard, pp. xciii, 408, 814). The introduction includes a study of the sources.

Mr. Edmund G. Gardner, author of *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*, has published a book entitled *St. Catherine of Siena: a Study in Italian Religion, Literature, and History of the Fourteenth Century* (London, Dent, 1907) much of which is based upon hitherto unpublished documents in the secret archives of the Vatican and in the libraries of Rome and Florence. An appendix includes some hitherto unpublished letters of St. Catherine.

The National Society for the History of the Italian Risorgimento has undertaken the following publications relating to the history of this period: a series of popular writings, of which the first volume will be a life of Garibaldi by Abba, author of the *Noterelle*; a series of documented monographs of which the first volume will be a study by Victor Ferrari upon the Piedmontese entry into the Italian war of 1848, based upon the unpublished correspondence of Castagneto, secretary of King Charles Albert, with Gabrio Casati, president of the provisional Lombard government; a two-volume dictionary of characters and events of the Risorgimento; the review, *Il Risorgimento Italiano, Rivista Storica*, which will be issued on January 1, 1908, by the publisher Bocca. The next congress of the society will be held in Turin, in September, 1908.

The diplomatic papers of Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, Spanish ambassador in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella to the courts of Austria, England and Flanders, have been supposed to be lost. They have, however, been preserved in the family archives of the ambassador's descendants, and are now published by the Duke of Berwick and Alba, under the title *Correspondencia de Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida, Embajador en Alemania, Flandes e Inglaterra, 1496-1509* (Madrid, 1907, pp. 720).

A new work by Major Martin Hume, entitled *The Court of Philip IV.: Spain in Decadence* (Putnams, 1907), presents a vivid picture of court life, based upon the original sources.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Lenel, *Zur älteren Geschichte Venedigs* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 3); G. Zippel, *L'Allume di Tolfa e il suo Commercio* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXX. 1-2); A. Bonnefons, *Les Mœurs et le Gouvernement de Venise en 1789* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

Professor Friedrich Paulsen has written a masterly account of *Das Deutsche Bildungswesen in seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907) beginning with the seventh century and coming down to the present time.

In the series *Quellensammlung zur Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner), which E. Brandenburg and G. Seeliger are editing primarily for use in historical seminars, the following volumes appeared during last year: *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Entstehung des Kirchenstaates* (pp. xvi, 260), edited by J. Haller; *Quellen zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites*, two volumes edited by E. Bernheim, of which the first relates to the history of Gregory VII. and Henry IV. and the second to the history of the concordat of Worms; and *Die Deutschen Parteiprogramme*, two volumes edited by F. Salomon, of which the first deals with the period from 1844 to 1871 and the second with the period from 1871 to 1900.

Dr. Max Kemmerich's *Die Frühmittelalterliche Porträtmalerei in Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, Calwey), is a survey of medieval portrait-painting in Germany from the eighth century based upon material drawn from illustrated manuscripts, Bibles, liturgies and similar sources, and including a list of more than 350 portraits, some of which are reproduced for the first time.

O. R. Redlich has edited for the Society for the History of the Rhineland a volume of much value to students of the relations of church and state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is entitled *Jülich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik am Ausgange des Mittelalters und in der Reformationszeit* (Bonn, Hanstein, 1907, pp. xxiii, 121, 482) and comprises 351 documents and extracts of documents, mostly from the state archives of Düsseldorf. In his long introduction the editor treats of the religious policy of the dukes of Jülich and Berg towards the archbishops of Cologne on the subject of immunities and the exercise of ecclesiastical justice.

The seventh *Heft* in the series of Leipzig Historical Essays edited by E. Brandenburg, G. Seeliger and U. Wilcken is Dr. R. Bemann's *Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Reichstages im XV. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1907, pp. vii, 95).

The *Facetiae* of the humanist Heinrich Bebel, which were published in Latin in 1506 and were directed against the clergy, have been translated for the first time by A. Wesselski under the title *Heinrich Bebel's Schwänke* (Munich, Müller, two volumes).

The first volume of Father Bernhard Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg, Herder, 1907, pp. xvi, 876) treats of the sixteenth century. This is a portion of that same series, ordered by the General of the Jesuits a dozen years ago, to which Father Astrain's history of the Jesuits of the Spanish general-assistancy and Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Jesuits in North America* belong.

The third and concluding volume of Paul Matter's *Bismarck et son Temps* covers the period of *Triomphe, Splendeur et Déclin*, 1870-1896 (Paris, Alcan, 1907).

The dissertation of Dr. R. Petsch, *Verfassung und Verwaltung Hinterpommerns Staat*, published as one of Schmoller and Sering's, *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, is based on a comprehensive study of archive material.

The Land in the Mountains (London, Simpkin, Marshall and Company, 1907, pp. xxxi, 288), an account of the past and present of Tyrol, its people and castles, by W. A. Baillie-Grohmann, contains in two long chapters an outline of the history of Tyrol from Roman times. The work is illustrated with eighty-two plates and maps of ancient Raetia and modern Tyrol.

Documentary publications: E. Vogt, *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Mainz von 1289-1396*, vol. I., fasc. 1 (1289-1353); F. Steffens and H. Reinhardt, *Die Nuntiatur von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, 1579-1581*, I. *Nuntiaturberichte aus der Schweiz seit dem Concil von Trient*, I. Abteilung (Solothurn, 1906, pp. xxx, 762); O. Clemen, *Briefe von Hieronymus Emser, Johann Cochläus, Johann Mensing und Petrus Rausch an die Fürstin Margarete und die Fürsten Johann und Georg von Anhalt* (Münster, Aschendorff, pp. viii, 68).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

J. Depoin has published a portion of his promised *Histoire des Familles Palatines du IX^e au XI^e Siècle* under the title *Wicman II., Comte de Hamaland, Bienfaiteur de Saint-Pierre de Gand au X^e Siècle* (Ghent, Siffer, 1907, pp. 39).

Miss Ruth Putnam is contributing to the "Heroes of the Nations" series a volume on *Charles the Bold, Last Duke of Burgundy, 1443-1477* (Putnams).

Professor Paul Fredericq of the University of Ghent has published through the Royal Belgian Academy an interesting collection of extracts from rare pamphlets relating to the civil and religious disturbances of the later sixteenth century in the Netherlands. The collection is entitled *Het Nederlandsch Proza in de Zestiendeewwsche Pamfletten uit den Tijd der Beroerten, met eene Bloemlezing, 1566-1600* (Brussels, Hayez, pp. xlv, 411).

La Fin du Régime Espagnol aux Pays-Bas; Étude d'Histoire Politique, Économique et Sociale (Brussels, Lebègue, 1907, pp. 291) by Frans van Kalken, is a detailed study from the sources of the government of Maximilian-Emmanuel of Bavaria and of the history of the Netherlands during the war of the Spanish Succession.

Professor P. Poulet of the University of Louvain has published an important work on *Les Institutions Françaises de 1795 à 1814; Essai sur les Origines des Institutions Belges Contemporaines* (Brussels, Dewit, pp. 975).

Documentary publications: L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges, Recueil de Documents concernant le Commerce Intérieur et Maritime, les Relations Internationales et l'Histoire Économique de cette Ville* (Bruges, L. de Plancke, 1904-1907, 4 vols.); Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Documents Nouveaux sur l'Histoire Sociale des Pays-Bas au XV^e Siècle: Lettres de Rémission de Philippe le Bon* (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, October).

NORTHERN EUROPE

Kristian Settevall's *Svensk Historisk Bibliografi, 1875-1900*, Stockholm, Norstedt, pp. 439) comprises references to 4,636 books and articles bearing upon the history of Sweden.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The programme for the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association, to be held in Madison, December 27-31, 1907, is arranged to consist more largely than usual of conferences. Beside the customary conference on the problems of state and local historical societies, and one of general interest on the relations of geography and history, there will be a group of special, and presumably small, conferences in which men actually engaged in investigation will discuss together their special fields of work; five such have been planned, relating respectively to medieval European history, modern European history, Oriental history and politics, the constitutional history of the United States, and the history of this country since 1865. The general sessions for papers will be three, devoted respectively to European history, to American economic history and to Western history. In connection with the conference on the work of state and local historical societies, the attempt will be made to organize those of the Mississippi Valley in such a manner as to prevent duplication of work and, so far as is possible, to secure co-operation. A full report of the proceedings of the Madison meeting will appear in our next number. The next annual meeting is to take place in Washington and Richmond at the end of December, 1908.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued Professor W. R. Shepherd's *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, whose contents are summarized on a previous page. The new edition of Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government in Washington* is, at the time of issue of this journal, nearly through the press. It has been so much enlarged by Mr. Leland that it will form a book of about 330 pages, while the first edition was of but 215. The action of the Public Record Office in entering upon a general rearrangement of the Colonial Office

papers having made it impossible for probably two years to issue the first volume of Professor C. M. Andrews's *Guide to the London Archives*, the Public Record Office volume, it has been decided to issue as soon as possible that which was to constitute the second volume of the work, making it an independent publication under the title *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for American History, down to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*. In Paris Mr. Waldo G. Leland is at work at present in the archives of the ministries of Foreign Affairs and War. In Mexico Professor Bolton, having finished his work in the Archivo General, is laboring in the archives of the War Department, where, among other interesting discoveries, he has come upon the papers which were taken from Captain Zebulon M. Pike by the Spanish officials of northern Mexico in 1807. Dr. E. C. Burnett is at work on the letters of delegates to the Old Congress. Dr. M. W. Jernegan, after a period of work on the American debates in Parliament, is about to begin the preparation of a calendar of the papers, in the archives of the various departments at Washington, relating to the history of the territories. The second annual report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research, for the year ending October 31, 1907, will shortly be ready for distribution.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its fourth annual meeting in San Francisco on November 29 and 30. The annual address, delivered by President W. D. Fenton, of Portland, was on "Edward Dickenson Baker". Papers were read by Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on "The State of Chile in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century"; by Professor H. L. Cannon, of Leland Stanford University, on "Some Inherent Difficulties in the Study of History"; by Mr. John Jewett Earle, of Oakland, on "The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War"; by Professor C. A. Duniway, of Leland Stanford University, on "Political and Civil Disabilities of the Negro in California, 1849-1861"; by Professor Max Farrand, of the same, on "The West and the Declaration of Independence". An account of the resources of the Bancroft Library was given by Professor H. Morse Stephens, and others, of the University of California. There was a session on the teaching of history and government.

The American Society of Church History held a meeting at Columbia University during Christmas week.

The report of the Public Archives Commission prepared for issue in connection with the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1907 will contain, beside reports on the archives of several states, a bibliography of local record publications and a list of sessions of colonial councils and assemblies, their journals and their volumes of acts.

The material for the proposed annual bibliography *Writings on American History, 1906*, the beginning of a fresh series, is nearly collected. It is expected that the volume will go to press early in 1908. Much of the material for 1907 has also been collected.

The *Report of the Librarian of Congress* for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907 (Washington, 1907) contains an account of the remarkable library of Russian and Siberian material acquired from Mr. Gennadius Yudin of Krasnoiarsk, Siberia, and of the notable collection of the literature of Japan made for the library in that country by Dr. Asakawa of Yale University. An appendix presents a detailed account of the acquisitions in the Division of Manuscripts, such as the papers of John McLean, Joseph Holt, William Plumer, Thaddeus Stevens, Edward McPherson, William Polk and John Bell. The body of transcripts of documents for American history in the British Museum and Bodleian which the library has been acquiring is now nearly completed.

In the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History" the sixth volume, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, edited by the late Hon. William T. Davis of Plymouth, is expected to appear in January. Dr. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop (the seventh and eighth volumes of the series) will be published early in the spring. Mr. A. J. H. van Laer has been obliged, by the pressure of official work in Albany, to give up the editing of the volume relating to New Netherland.

The text of Professor Hart's series "The American Nation" has now been completed by the issue of volume XXV., *America as a World Power, 1807-1907*, by Professor John H. Latané of the Washington and Lee University, and of volume XXVI., *National Ideals Historically Traced, 1607-1907*, by the general editor of the series. A general index to the series, by Mr. David M. Matteson, will follow in an additional volume.

Mr. Almeric FitzRoy, C.V.O., clerk of the Privy Council, and Mr. Hugh E. Egerton, Beit professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford, have formed a plan for printing such entries in the registers of the Privy Council, from the reign of James I. to 1775, as relate to any of the American colonies. The Lords of the Treasury have agreed to print three volumes of such material, of the size of the *Acts of the Privy Council* for the period from 1547 to 1603, provided the expense of transcribing and editing is otherwise defrayed. These expenditures have now been provided for by contributions from the Carnegie Trustees of Edinburgh, from Professor Egerton, from the archives department of the Dominion of Canada and from the American Historical Association, the Executive Council of which has guaranteed five hundred dollars per annum for two years toward this object. One half of this sum is appropriated from the treasury of

the Association; the remainder is being raised by contributions from individuals and from related societies. The work upon the series has been begun under the editorial care of Mr. James Munro, assistant to the professor of history in the University of Edinburgh, and Mr. W. L. Grant, deputy to the Beit professor, who have been appointed editors by the Lord President of the Council.

The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1907, contains a paper on Early Private Libraries in New England, by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, a body of curious and instructive notes on Witchcraft, by Professor George L. Kittredge, a bibliographical account of the Almanacs of Roger Sherman, by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, and some papers relating to Franklin and the first balloons and respecting early cases in the English admiralty courts which cast light on the beginnings of American history.

An installment (A-Anyon) of *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (new series), by Henry F. Waters, has been reprinted from the *Genealogical Magazine*, "edited, arranged, completed, and cross referenced" by Lothrop Withington (Salem, Eben Putnam).

In the issue of the *Nation* of September 12, Professor William MacDonald, of Brown University, discusses "The Situation of History in Secondary Schools". The subject is further discussed in the issue of September 26 by Mr. Abraham Flexner, and in that of October 10 by Professor A. C. McLaughlin.

As mentioned in the last issue of the REVIEW, the American Catholic Historical Society is publishing in its *Records* letters recently obtained from the archiepiscopal archives of Quebec, with notes by the archivist, the Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay. The June and September numbers of the *Records* contain portions of the correspondence between the sees of Quebec and Baltimore, 1788-1847. These letters throw much light on Catholic activity in America in those years. In the same issue of the *Records* the Reverend H. C. Schuyler, writing under the title, "A Typical Missionary", describes with considerable fullness the life and services of Father Sebastian Rale, the apostle of the Abnakis, 1694-1724. In the September number appears the first portion of a paper giving a history of "Asylum: A Colony of French Catholics in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, 1794-1800", by Martin I. J. Griffin.

In the October number of the REVIEW, the recent work of Professor J. R. Commons on *Races and Immigrants in America* was noticed in the same paragraph with the list of books on immigration into the United States issued by the Library of Congress. The phrase used, it is now perceived, might be taken to imply that Mr. Commons's book was improperly omitted from that list. No such criticism was intended. The list was in fact completed before the publication of the book named.

Professor George Elliott Howard of the University of Nebraska has prepared, and the university has published, a monograph entitled *Comparative Federal Institutions: an Analytical Reference Syllabus* (pp. 133). As the second half of the title indicates, the work is not a treatise but only a syllabus to be used as a basis for a course of lectures or as a guide to the study of federal government. Queries and bare suggestions are as numerous as definitely indicated ideas and points of view. The analyses are nevertheless reasonably minute and careful. A preliminary chapter treats of the characteristics and general principles of federal government, and describes the federal institutions in Greece, Italy and Western Europe. The larger portion of the syllabus consists of a chapter each on the four important federations of the present time, namely, the United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia. The antecedents of the federation, in each case, are traced, and the workings of the federal institutions critically analyzed. The German Empire and the Latin American Federations are not included, but six pages of references for those federations are given. Carefully chosen references also accompany each section of the syllabus.

The lectures delivered by Dr. Albert Shaw as the opening course upon the Blumenthal foundation in Columbia University have been published by the Macmillan Company. The volume bears the title *Political Problems of American Development*.

Messrs. Longmans have published an *Economic History of the United States*, by E. L. Bogart.

The Macmillan Company have published *American History for Use in Secondary Schools*, by Roscoe Lewis Ashley.

Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America (pp. 153), by Rev. George Hodges, has come from the press of George W. Jacobs and Company.

Historic Churches of America, by Mrs. Nellie Urner Wallington, with introduction by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, comes from the press of Messrs. Duffield.

New volumes in the Grafton Historical Series are: *In Olde New York*, by Charles Burr Todd; *Mattapoisett and Old Rochester, Massachusetts*, by Mary Hall Leonard and others; *Old Steamboat Days on the Hudson*, by David L. Buckman; *The Cherokee Indians*, by Thomas Valentine Parker; and the *Diary of Enos Hitchcock*, a chaplain of the Revolution. Portions of the diary of Hitchcock were published in 1899, but since that time other considerable portions have been discovered, as also large collections of letters. The volume is edited by Mr. William B. Weedon, and includes selections from Hitchcock's correspondence.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

In the American Men of Energy Series, published by Messrs. Putnam, appears *Henry Hudson*, by Edgar M. Bacon.

The latest report of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission calendars (in the eighth report on the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland) a number of documents of value for colonial history. Some of these documents are not to be found in print, some indeed have not hitherto been known. There are letters from Bellomont, and from Edward Dummer, and many papers concerning the operations of the pirate Kidd; also a hitherto unknown report of a Committee of Trade appointed in 1638, and again in 1639.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for October contains a long and valuable report of the Board of Trade and Plantations, respecting colonial conditions, presented in December, 1703.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have issued a reprint of *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*. The memoirs comprise the autobiography of Rev. James Fontaine, a Huguenot refugee, a journal kept by his son, John Fontaine, of his travels in Virginia, New York, etc., in 1714-1716, and other family manuscripts. The volume appeared first in 1852, translated and compiled by Ann Maury.

The fourth volume (1765-1773) of the *American Bibliography* which Mr. Charles Evans is compiling has been issued. It is published at Chicago by the author.

Messrs. Lippincott have recently published *The True Patrick Henry*, by George Morgan.

The J. B. Lippincott Company have found it necessary to postpone until the early spring the publication of Sydney George Fisher's *The Struggle for American Independence*.

Part III. of Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *The American Revolution* is now out (Longmans, Green and Company).

The *American Historical Magazine*, in the September and November issues, prints some Revolutionary letters. There are letters from Gates, Putnam, Henry Ten Eyck and Samuel Adams, and one from Richard Oswald (December 19, 1781) to Lords Stonnard and Hillsborough concerning the imprisonment of Henry Laurens.

Volume I. of *Catholics and the American Revolution*, by Martin I. J. Griffin, has been published by the author (Ridley Park, Pa.).

The orderly-book of Colonel Christopher Greene, covering the period from July 12, 1777, to July 22, 1779, has recently been brought to light, and will probably find lodgment in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society. The orderly-book is of much value for a study of the Rhode Island troops in the Continental line.

The November issue of the *Yale Review* contains an article by Professor Max Farrand entitled "George Washington in the Federal Convention", the purpose of which is to place Washington's influence in the convention upon a tangible basis.

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's *Life and Correspondence of Dr. James McHenry*, which was awarded the John Marshall prize at Johns Hopkins University for 1907, has been issued by the Burrows Brothers Company.

Messrs. Putnam have issued a new edition of Frederick Scott Oliver's *Alexander Hamilton: an Essay on American Union*.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for September contains several letters addressed to Commodore Richard Dale in the years 1798-1802, of which those from Secretary Stoddert and Commodore Truxton are of political interest.

The Neale Publishing Company will shortly issue a work by Professor John W. Wayland, of the University of Virginia, entitled *The Political Opinions of Thomas Jefferson*. Professor R. H. Dabney of the same institution furnishes an introduction to the work.

Messrs. Lippincott have published *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, by J. G. Rosengarten.

In connection with the semi-centennial celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas debates to be held this year under the auspices of the Illinois State Historical Society, the society will issue an extra volume of its collections devoted to a reprint of the debates, together with illustrations, extracts from newspapers and details from personal recollections of survivors. The volume will be edited by Professor Edwin E. Sparks.

The Spirit of Old West Point, 1858-1862, by General Morris Schaff, which appeared serially in the *Atlantic Monthly*, has now come as a book from the press of Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

The John Lane Company has issued a new edition, in attractive form, of Robert G. Ingersoll's *Abraham Lincoln*, first published in 1894. There is a frontispiece portrait of Lincoln.

Mr. Allan Pinkerton has published a pamphlet (pp. 42) bearing the title: *History and Evidence of the Passage of Abraham Lincoln from Harrisburg, Pa., to Washington, D. C., on the twenty-second and twenty-third of February, 1861*.

Lincoln in the Telegraph Office, by David Homer Bates, which has appeared serially during the past year in the *Century Magazine*, has now been issued in book form (The Century Company).

George W. Jacobs and Company have brought out *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War*, by Ellis P. Oberholtzer, which was published serially in the *Century Magazine*.

The *Autobiography* of Major-General O. O. Howard has been issued by the Baker and Taylor Company.

A Calendar of Confederate Papers, with a bibliography of some Confederate publications, has just been announced. The work is the preliminary report of the Southern Historical Manuscripts Commission, recently organized, and is prepared and edited by Douglas Southall Freeman, under the direction of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society of Richmond. Among the papers mentioned as included in the calendar are the correspondence of Brigadier-General W. N. R. Beall, agent for the supply of prisoners of war, the papers of George Shea, of counsel for Jefferson Davis, many letters to Davis, military papers of General T. J. Jackson and others. Of many of these papers abstracts will be given. A number of letters from private soldiers will be printed in full. Entries are also made from the journal of George E. Lining, surgeon-in-chief on the Shenandoah.

Longmans, Green and Company have published *Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen*, reminiscences of the Civil War, with special reference to the work for the contrabands and freedmen of the Mississippi Valley, by the late Commissioner John Eaton, in collaboration with Ethel Osgood Mason.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, is engaged in editing the papers of Elihu B. Washburne and his brother, Cadwallader Colden Washburn. He would be greatly obliged for information concerning letters from or to these brothers.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The July number of the *Magazine of History* contains an article on the life of Meshech Weare, by Ezra S. Stearns. In the August number William F. Whitaker writes of "The Relation of New Hampshire Men to the Siege of Boston".

Of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States*, the section for Vermont has been brought out by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

John Harvard and his Times, by Henry C. Shelley (Little, Brown and Company), will no doubt receive a warm welcome. So little has been known about the founder of Harvard College that hitherto no serious life of him has been attempted. Only recently have sufficient data been brought to light to make such a work possible.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for October prints from the loyalist papers in the Library of Congress the materials relating to the Essex County loyalists.

The late Judge Mellen Chamberlin at his death provided, by a bequest to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for the completion and publication of his history of Chelsea. Under the direction of the society this extensive work has been completed by Miss Jenny Chamberlin Watts and Mr. William R. Cutter, and will be issued within a few months.

The new edition of Updike's *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island* (three volumes), has been edited, revised and enlarged by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin, and includes a transcript of the Narragansett parish register from 1718 to 1774, a reprint of *America Dissected*, by James MacSparran, D.D., and other reprints, besides numerous portraits (Boston, The Merrymount Press).

The Connecticut Historical Society has acquired two volumes of manuscript letters and papers labelled "Trumbull-Silliman Papers", including papers of John Trumbull, the artist, chiefly during his period of residence in England, and papers of Professor Benjamin Silliman the elder. The society has also acquired a volume of letters written by Timothy Pitkin (1766-1847), the congressman and historian, to his son.

The *English Historical Review* prints in its October number an article by Professor Henry L. Schoolcraft on "The Capture of New Amsterdam". The writer believes that the verdict of condemnation customarily passed upon the English for the capture needs further consideration.

The latest of the "Local History Series", published by the Quaker Hill Conference Association, is *Washington's Headquarters at Fredericksburgh*, an address read by Lewis S. Patrick at the seventh annual meeting of the conference, September 8, 1905. The paper is miscellaneous in character, though containing a good deal of material relating to the army during the time when it was in the vicinity of Fredericksburgh. The same pamphlet contains Mr. Patrick's address at the unveiling of the memorial tablet on the site of Washington's headquarters in Pawling, New York.

"The Pennsylvania-German in his Relation to Education", a symposium running in the *Pennsylvania German*, includes in the November issue several sketches of early educational conditions.

The Report of the Valley Forge Park Commission for 1906 includes carefully prepared topographical maps of the camp ground.

The *Publications of the Southern History Association*, in the issue for September and November, prints the "Minutes of the County Court of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, July, 1775-July, 1776", contributed by A. S. Salley, Jr., who writes a brief introductory statement. With this issue, it is announced, the *Publications* cease, temporarily at least. The necessity for this step is learned with genuine regret. The Southern History Association was organized in 1896 and since that time has published twelve volumes, in quarterly or bi-monthly issues, composed of valuable documentary materials. The credit of the success of the *Publications* thus far is due mainly to Dr. Colyer Meriwether, who has brought them out under no small difficulties, financial and other. It is hoped that plans which have been conceived for giving permanency to the enterprise will meet with the success which it so eminently deserves.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September contains an article on John Francis Mercer (governor of Maryland, 1801 to 1803), by James Mercer Garnett; a paper entitled "Colonial Women of Maryland", by Mrs. A. L. Sioussat; and "Correspondence of Governor Eden, 1769-1771".

Esther Singleton, whose *Historic Landmarks of America* was published a short while ago, by Messrs. Dodd, has now brought out, through McClure and Company, *The Story of the White House*.

The first edition of *The Cradle of the Republic: Jamestown and James River*, by President Lyon Gardiner Tyler of the College of William and Mary, was brought out in 1900. The second edition (Richmond, The Hermitage Press, 1907, pp. vii, 286) has been improved and enlarged, chiefly by the use of two additional sources: the Ambler papers, recently acquired by the Library of Congress and embracing deeds, leases, etc., extending from 1640 to 1809, and the investigations of Mr. Samuel Yonge of the United States Corps of Engineers, who took charge of the construction of the protective wall with which the government has at last defended Jamestown from the encroachments of the James River.

In its October issue the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* brings to a conclusion the publication of "Virginia Militia in the Revolution". The other of its documentary series are continued. Among the "Virginia Colonial Records" we find a number of documents emanating from the Privy Council, in 1623, relating to the dissolution of the Virginia Company. Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers" (all of date 1775 and 1776) are some letters of Lord George Germain, the most noteworthy being a letter of December 23, 1775, to Governor Eden of Maryland relative to a proposed expedition against the Southern colonies.

Mr. Philip A. Bruce's invaluable *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* has been brought out by the Macmillan Company in a new (reprinted) edition.

A volume on *Colonial Churches*, a series of sketches of churches in the original colony of Virginia (pp. 319), by Rev. W. M. Clark, has been published at Richmond by the Southern Churchman Company.

Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty in Colonial and Revolutionary Times (pp. 128) is the title of a work by Rev. T. C. Johnson, D.D., published at Richmond, Virginia.

A History of Virginia Banks and Banking Prior to the Civil War, by W. L. Royal (pp. 73), has been published by the Neale Publishing Company.

Stone and Barringer Company of Charlotte have brought out a *Young People's History of North Carolina*, by Professor D. H. Hill.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has issued as *Bulletin*

No. 1 (pp. 18) an explanation of the organization, plans and purposes of the commission, together with a strong appeal to citizens of the state to co-operate with it in the securing and preservation of historical material. There is also a summary of what the commission has done, some mention of which was made in these pages in October.

The Beginnings of English America: Sir Walter Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island, 1584-1587, is the title of a monograph of thirty-nine pages brought out by the North Carolina Historical Commission. The monograph was prepared by the secretary of the commission, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, for distribution at the Jamestown Exposition.

The first volume of a *History of the University of North Carolina*, by Dr. Kemp P. Battle, has just appeared from the press (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, pp. 880). Dr. Battle's life, as student, teacher, and for a number of years president of the university, is so interwoven with the life of the institution of which he writes, that he brings to his subject an unusual warmth of devotion, as well as fitness for the task which he undertakes. The present volume traces the history of the university from its first conception in 1776 (it was chartered in 1789) to the year 1868. Its growth from modest beginnings is told, its inner life depicted, its public occasions described, its influence in the affairs of the state and the nation set forth. But while the story centres in the campus it is by no means confined there. There are many interesting side lights on manners and events; much about the personalities and careers of the men who have touched the institution's life. An appendix contains lists of graduates and other classified information concerning the university. A second volume will bring the history down to the present time.

In its October issue the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues its documentary series, the principal of which are letters from Lafayette to Henry Laurens, and "Papers of the General Committee, Secret Committee, and Provincial Congress, 1775", the latter having been begun in July.

An *Address* delivered by Henry A. M. Smith at the unveiling of the monument to General Thomas Sumter at Statesburgh, S. C., August 14, 1907, comes to us from the South Carolina Historical Society. The address is essentially a biographical sketch of Sumter (Charleston, S. C., Walker, Evans and Cogswell Company, printers, pp. 73).

The American Monthly Magazine for October contains a brief historical sketch, by Mrs. P. H. Mell, of "Fort Rutledge of the Revolution", afterward called Fort Hill and noted as the residence of John C. Calhoun.

Hampton and Reconstruction (pp. 238), by Edward L. Wells, comes from the press of the State Company, Columbia, S. C.

The first volume of *Men of Mark in Georgia*, edited by former

Governor W. J. Northen, with an historical introduction by John Temple Graves, has been issued by A. B. Caldwell, Atlanta, Georgia. The work is described as "a complete and elaborate history of the state from its settlement to the present time, chiefly told in biographies and autobiographies of the most eminent men of each period of Georgia's progress and development". It is to be six volumes in extent.

The demand for Frederick Law Olmsted's books of travel in the Southern states in the period just preceding the Civil War, induced the Putnams, shortly after the death of Mr. Olmsted, to republish the *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*. They have now republished, in a handsome edition, in two volumes, his *Journey in the Back Country*. The book was first published in 1860 and, as is well known, details in a most interesting manner the writer's experience and observations of conditions in several portions of the old South during a journey in the years 1853 and 1854. The journey extended from the lower Mississippi through Alabama, Georgia, Western North Carolina, Eastern Tennessee and portions of Virginia. Foremost always in the writer's mind was the question of slavery; his dispassionate and judicial attitude of mind, his exactness of observation, give to these travels a high degree of permanent value.

General Austin's Order-Book for the Campaign of 1835, a document of much importance for the history of the Texas Revolution, occupies the larger portion of the pages of the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for July. A brief description of the order-book, together with annotations, is given by the editor of the *Quarterly*. An interesting article in this issue is "Reminiscences of Reconstruction in Texas" (including "The Fall of the Davis Government", and "The 'Bull Pen'"), by T. B. Wheeler. The October issue prints "The Records of an Early Texas Baptist Church" (1833-1847) and a letter of one George Dedrick, throwing new light on the Tampico Expedition. The letter is dated Goliad, Texas, February 22, 1836, and the writer is supposed to have been among the victims of the massacre of Goliad, March 19.

The analytical index, in two volumes, to *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, has been issued by the Arthur H. Clark Company. Volume I. includes a list of reprints published in the series, also a classified list of the illustrations.

At the meeting of the Central Ohio Valley History Conference held at Cincinnati November 29 and 30 there was a varied programme of addresses, papers and discussions. An address on "The Mission of Local History" was delivered by Dr. R. G. Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a paper on "The Use of Local Records in History Teaching" was read by Professor A. B. Hulbert of Marietta College and a paper on "The Teacher of the Social Sciences", by Pro-

fessor James A. James. There were reports on the relation of the state to work in local history, presented by Mr. E. O. Randall, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, director of the State Department of Archives and History of West Virginia and Mr. C. B. Galbreath, of the Ohio State Library. There were also reports of special work in local history by W. W. Longmoor, curator of the Kentucky State Historical Society, and Frederick W. Hinkle, of the Archaeological Institute of America. The conference was set on foot with a view to promoting throughout the central Ohio Valley a wider interest in local history. The immediate outcome was a decision to make the organization permanent, and a commission, of which Professor Isaac J. Cox of the University of Cincinnati is chairman, was appointed to draw up a constitution and make the arrangements for the next annual meeting.

Robert Clarke Company announce that they will reprint a number of the volumes of the *Ohio Historical Series*, many of which, owing to the destruction of plates by fire some years ago, are out of print. The volumes already named for reprint are these: Bouquet's *Expedition against the Ohio Indians, 1764*; Clark's *Sketches of his Campaign in the Illinois in 1778-1779*; Drake's *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*; Howell's *Recollections of Life in Ohio from 1813 to 1840*; Shepherd's *Antiquities of the State of Ohio*; James Smith's *Captivity with the Indians, 1755-1759*; and Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*.

The "Olde Northwest" *Genealogical Quarterly* continues, in its October issue, the publication of "Selections from the Papers of Governor Allen Trimble". Some of the letters written to Trimble from Washington touch politics in an interesting way. The *Quarterly* also prints some correspondence of Colonel James Denney, 1808-1815. Most of the letters are from Colonel Denney to his wife and have much to say about the movements of the army in the Northwest. One, from George Harrison to Colonel Denney (Charleston, S. C., September, 1808) makes some interesting comments on the embargo and impressment.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October contains two articles of some length bearing mainly on the early history of Ohio. Hon. Albert Douglas discusses the life and services of Major-General Arthur St. Clair, giving particular attention to St. Clair's attitude toward the question of statehood for Ohio; and Mr. E. O. Randall writes of "Washington and Ohio". Articles of semi-historical interest are: "American Aborigines and their Social Customs", by Rev. J. A. Easton; and "The Mounds of Florida and their Builders", by Rev. J. F. Richmond.

Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, who is in charge of the department of archives and history recently organized in con-

nection with the State Library of Indiana, plans to prepare a bibliography of manuscript material relating to the history of Indiana, and is now engaged in locating such materials and, when possible, assembling them in the State Library.

The September issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* contains additional papers on the history of internal improvements in Indiana.

In the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for September appears a paper entitled: "Did De Soto discover Kentucky at the Time of his Conquest of Florida?", by Z. F. Smith. There is also a brief article on "The Old Fort at Harrodsburg", by W. W. Stephenson; and the first installment of a history of Franklin County, Ky.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin held its fifty-fifth annual meeting at Madison on November 7. Among the papers read at the meeting were: "Fox Indian Wars in Wisconsin", by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, and "Economic Conditions in the Northwest, 1860-1870", by Professor Carl Russell Fish.

The *Fourteenth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Historical Society contains a catalogue of the portraits, framed documents, etc., in the rooms of the society; also tables of contents of the several volumes of the society's *Collections*.

In the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* Professor F. I. Herriott presents the second installment of his paper on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". In the same issue Dr. L. H. Pammel begins a somewhat extended sketch of Dr. Edwin James, who as botanist, geologist and surgeon accompanied Long's expedition to the Rockies in 1819-1820.

In the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Mr. R. B. Way discusses the question: "Was the Fugitive Slave Clause of the Constitution Necessary?" The same issue presents a bibliography of Iowa state publications for 1904 and 1905 (pp. 72). The contents of the October number relate mainly to the territorial history of Iowa. Mr. Dan E. Clark gives an outline of the history of judicial districting in Iowa. Mr. Henry J. Peterson presents a study of the "Regulation by Law of Elections in the Territory of Iowa". An account is given of the regulations of elections in the Northwest Territory and the territories of Michigan and Wisconsin as well as of the territory of Iowa proper. "The Election of Francis Gehon in 1839", by Louis Pelzer, gives the history of an extra-legal and abortive election of a delegate to Congress.

Mr. A. H. Davison, secretary of the Executive Council of Iowa, has been put in charge of the work on the public archives of the state. Rooms in the Historical Memorial and Art Building, at Des Moines, Iowa, have been assigned for their permanent preservation.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received, as a gift from Mr. Pierre Chouteau, a collection of one hundred and fifty-two letters, mainly from the governors of Louisiana, at New Orleans, to the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, covering the period 1796-1804. It has also received the inventory of those papers and documents of the archives of the village of San Luis de Illinoia and its dependencies, which being governmental in their nature, were not to be turned over to the authorities of the United States. Possibly the most interesting of these documents is the diary of Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, who commanded the expedition from St. Louis to Natchez November 16, 1804, to January 18, 1805. It is the purpose of the society to obtain from Spain, if possible, transcripts of the documents described in this inventory.

The West Plains Journal Company of West Plains, Missouri, are the publishers of a work by William Monks entitled: *A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas*, "being an account of the early settlements, the civil war, the Ku-klux, and times of peace".

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Company have brought out a revised edition of *Kansas* (American Commonwealth Series), by Leverett W. Spring.

John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon, by Frederick V. Holman, has been brought out by the Arthur H. Clark Company.

On November 19 exercises were held by the Santa Clara County Historical Society in commemoration of the original founding and of the occupation of the second site of Mission Santa Clara, California. Various pertinent addresses were delivered.

The *Second Annual Report* of the Champlain Society indicates a fair degree of progress in the programme of publication which was outlined in the April number of the REVIEW. The first volume of Les-carbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, with English translation, notes and appendices by Mr. W. L. Grant, and an introduction by Mr. H. P. Biggar, has been issued, and it is expected that Professor Munro's *Documents relating to the Seignorial Régime in Canada*, Professor Ganong's translation of Denys's *Description Géographique* and Professor Shortt's volume of *Cartwright Papers* will all be issued before the end of the year. Among the important manuscripts which the society has recently had placed at its disposal is the journal of Bougainville, officer in the army of Montcalm.

Mr. John Murray of London is about to publish a work entitled *Canadian Constitutional History*, in which the attempt is made to trace the constitutional evolution of the Dominion by means of selected speeches and dispatches. The volume includes the more important of the orations upon the Quebec Act, the speeches of Pitt and Fox on the Constitutional Act, the criticisms of the Legislative Council of Upper

Canada upon Lord Durham's report, correspondence respecting responsible government between the British Secretaries of State and successive governors of Canada and the chief speeches made in the Canadian Parliament in 1865. The work is the joint product of Mr. H. E. Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, and Mr. W. L. Grant, his deputy.

Messrs. Morang and Company announce that they will shortly publish, as one of their "Makers of Canada" series, a *Life of Sir John Macdonald*, by Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G.

The *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1903-1904), in addition to giving an interesting account of the work which the Bureau is doing, contains two studies by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes: "The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands" (pp. 220), and "Certain Antiquities of Eastern Mexico" (pp. 64). The island of Porto Rico, being at the geographical centre of Antillean life, is a particularly favorable place for its study, and the author is able to give a fairly distinct picture of the characteristic type of that culture. The archaeological method of treatment is followed in the main, but data are also drawn from historical and ethnological sources. The Mexican study was undertaken primarily with a view to discovering the possible relationship of the inhabitants of the Mexican Gulf coast to the Mound Builders of the lower Mississippi and the builders of the Pueblos of the Southwest. Only tentative conclusions have so far been reached.

A History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511 to 1868, has recently come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons. The author is Hubert H. S. Aimes, formerly of Ursinus College, now of the College of the City of New York. His book, he believes, is "the first detailed work, the result of extended research, which has yet been published on the Island of Cuba in this country".

Historiadores de Yucatán, by Gustavo Martínez Alomia, is a collection of biographical and bibliographical notes on the historians of the peninsula from its discovery to the end of the nineteenth century (Campeche, 1906, pp. 360).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Reinhold Koser, *Geschichtsinteresse und Geschichtsforschung in Amerika* (Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, June 15, 1907); Sidney Lee, *The Call of the West: America and Elizabethan England* (Scribner's, September, November); Agnes C. Laut, *Henry Hudson, Dreamer and Discoverer*, cont. (Appleton's Magazine, December); James A. Burns, *Catholic Colonial Schools in Pennsylvania* (Catholic University Bulletin, October); C. L. Raper, *The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists* (North Carolina Booklet, October); A. E. Verrill, *Relation between Bermuda and the American Colonies during the Revolutionary*

War (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XIII.); A. W. Savary, *The Narrative of Colonel Fanning* (Canadian Magazine, November–December); Worthington C. Ford, *The "Publius" Letters Attacking Samuel Chase* (The Nation, November 14); Hannis Taylor, *Pelotiah Webster, the Architect of Our Federal Constitution* (Yale Law Journal, December); *The Letters of General Charles Hamilton, Written from the Seat of War in Mexico* (Metropolitan Magazine, December); H. Nelson Gay, *Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi* (The Century, November); William B. Hornblower, *A Century of "Judge-Made" Law* (Columbia Law Review, November); R. H. Hess, *The Passing of the Doctrine of Riparian Rights* (The American Political Science Review, November); W. F. Ganong, *The History of Tabusintac* (Acadiensis, November).